



Professor Henrion defends our cause on French television on July 9th 1960. Left to right: M. Teldy Naïm (author of the French play *On l'appelait Shakespeare*, Professor Pierre Henrion, Mme. Gisèle Boyer. (By kind permission of Odette Baumont).

# BACONIANA

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*It should be clearly understood that BACONIANA is a medium for the discussion of subjects connected with the Objects of the Society, but the Council does not necessarily endorse opinions expressed by contributors or correspondents.*

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## EDITORIAL

Good name in man and woman, dear my lord,  
Is the immediate jewel of their souls :  
Who steals my purse steals trash ; 't is something nothing ;  
'T was mine, 't is his, and has been slave to thousands,  
But he that filches from me my good name,  
Robs me of that which not enriches him,  
And makes me poor indeed.

(*Othello*, 1622)

HAS the time yet come when Bacon's good name—a name revered by all who knew him personally—should be lastingly restored ? No one now seriously questions Bacon's greatness, but since the days of Lord Macaulay his reputation has been somewhat under a cloud.

The mortal Moon hath her eclipse endur'd.

It is time that this question was settled. Bacon's good name (in spite of his own forebodings) was not filched from him during his life. Too many candid witnesses were still alive, Ben Jonson among them. In fact it was Ben who preserved that good name for posterity, by taking steps to record the real truth about Bacon, not only as "the mark and *acme* of our language", not only as "he who hath filled up all *numbers*", but "as one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages".

The first serious attempt to blacken Bacon's memory was made by a Mrs. Catherine Macaulay in her *History of England* (1763). Inspired to self-righteous indignation by a misunderstanding of Pope's famous epigram, she allowed her imagination to run riot. The lengths to which she was prepared to go were



described in a trenchant article by the late Sir John Cockburn, *The Vilifiers of Verulam*, which we now reprint. It also seems that Lord Macaulay himself was influenced by the same misunderstanding of Pope ; for his essay presents us with an impossible tissue of compliments and insults. It must be remembered that Macaulay was well and truly trounced by Spedding and Dixon for his historical inexactitudes, but his essay will continue to be read as literature, if not as history, for the sheer brilliance of its style. Those who only want entertainment may safely read Macaulay, but those who respect the Muse of History should beware. This point is clearly established by Mr. E. D. Johnson in a moving article *An Appeal for Justice* which we print in this issue.

We believe it should be our purpose, when celebrating the fourth centenary of Bacon's birth, to clear his name of calumny. Much of this calumny has long been exploded ; but it still persists as a form of retaliation—a kind of defence mechanism—by those who resent our controversy, and who can only hit back by making a personal attack on Lord Bacon. But if the Baconian theory ever came to be accepted, his good name would henceforward be assured. It would then pay scholars who have not troubled to do so to make a parallel study of Bacon and Shakespeare. Vested interests would be re-invested !

But leaving aside the Shakespeare controversy, let us return to the good name of the historical Francis Bacon. This was universally respected for at least a century after his death. The founders of the Royal Society paid their tributes to him ; Abraham Cowley wrote a memorable poem in his honour, and numerous editions of his works were published. Then Pope wrote his famous epigram—in our opinion intending no disparagement—" the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind ". In his writings Pope does not seem to have used the word " mean " in its modern and defamatory sense ; indeed he uses it expressly of himself and of his idol, Dryden. Usually he uses it in the sense of " humble " ; but there is another sense which would readily occur to an epigrammist, namely the " golden mean " of Aristotle ; this could be a covert hint at Bacon's motto *mediocria firma*. But whatever Pope intended, there is no doubt that Macaulay and his followers have interpreted the

epigram in its worst sense, though this conflicts with all Pope's other references to Bacon, most of which are highly complimentary . . .

Lord Bacon was the greatest genius that England (or perhaps any country) ever produced.

(*Anecdotes*)

Then future ages with delight shall see  
How Plato's, Bacon's, Newton's looks agree.

(*Moral Epistles*)

All his life it was Bacon's misfortune to have an extremely jealous opponent in Sir Edward Coke, who seldom lost an opportunity, in court or out of it, to insult him. Bacon, conscious of his powers, was never overawed when he was Coke's junior, and eventually rose above him. Probably it was this that determined Coke to bring his lifelong rival down by any means. In the final political "frame-up" by which the worldly ruin of Francis Bacon was accomplished, it was, to his lasting shame, Edward Coke who clamoured for the death sentence. In spite of his vast legal knowledge, Coke was a malignant and avaricious man. Anyone who doubts this ought to read the account of the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Two different types of the successful lawyer stand out in English history. The first is represented by such men as Sir Thomas More and Lord Bacon, wise and far-seeing counsellors, good statesmen, just judges, and withal good-natured and altruistic men, who also took an abiding interest in the culture and learning of their times. The second type is represented by men like Sir Edward Coke and Judge Jeffreys, useful tools to serve the political purpose of obtaining convictions at any cost ; instruments of terror rather than of counsel ; men of whom hardly a single kindly or noble action is recorded. As legal luminaries their stature may be great, but as men they were bloodthirsty and tyrannical. Coke's bitterness was exemplified when Bacon sent him a complimentary copy of the *Novum Organum*, and he could not refrain from scrawling across the beautifully engraved title-page an insulting remark, which remains to this day, a monument to his spiteful and jealous disposition.



Another monstrous libel on Bacon's character concerns his relations with Essex. Firm friends to begin with, they became estranged when Essex's reckless ambitions came between them. Without disparaging Essex's military prowess, we cannot regard him as other than a traitor, for there can be no doubt that he was aiming at the Crown. It was admitted that his rebellion had for its object the seizure of the Queen's person, so that a conviction was inevitable ; even Macaulay admits that. Bacon must have realised it too, and his counsel to Essex to abandon an untenable defence, and to throw himself on the Queen's mercy, was probably the best advice. Clearly no Government could afford to trifle with such a conspiracy. Some say that Bacon should have tried either to defend Essex or plead sickness. But his was no free choice ; as a lawyer—and particularly one whom the Queen had chosen as her " learned counsel extraordinary "—he had definite responsibilities. There could be no temporising or hanging back on a question of this kind. Essex and his confederates were a dangerous crew, and they well knew the risks they were taking. They counted on raising the city of London ; it was a gamble and it failed. It is absurd to suppose that those who stood firm behind the Queen—like Egerton, Popham and Nottingham or Raleigh, Cecil and Bacon—were acting from any other motive than loyalty and patriotism.

Bacon's final martyrdom, as he himself must have realised, helped to postpone the inevitable collision between Crown and Commons until the following reign. He had been made a consenting but reluctant scapegoat to cover up the corruptions and scandals at Court, and the infamous sales of Offices and Monopolies. It is not until after this sacrifice that we hear any mention of the first editions of *Henry VIII*, *Timon of Athens*, and *Othello*. In the fall of Cardinal Wolsey and the circumstantial surrender of the Seals,\* in the indignity imposed upon Archbishop Cranmer by being kept waiting at the door amongst

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\* Contrary to history, *four* persons are represented as being sent to Wolsey to demand the Great Seal, instead of *two*. These four were the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Lord Chamberlain and the Earl of Surrey, the very peers who were later sent to Bacon to demand the Seal from him, *five years after Shaksper's death*.

grooms and lackeys, we seem to have a glimpse of Bacon's own personal sufferings ; so, too, in the almost violent transformation of Timon, disillusioned by his fair-weather friends.

Bacon, to tell the truth, was always alive to the value and influence for good of a well-respected name. He felt the Essex tragedy poignantly, though in all that sad business he had simply served his Country and his Queen. He must have felt even more strongly the disgrace which his detractors tried to put upon him in his retirement. But they did not succeed. In his MS. notebook of 1594, now in the British Museum, is the French proverb which he had written down as a young man, *Bonne renommé vaut plusque ceinture dorée*. He must have drawn comfort from that proverb during those last few years of seclusion and want, when even that small draught of strong march beer "to bedward" (to "lay his working fancy asleep", as Aubrey tells us) was denied him. For he knew then what few of his contemporaries knew, that his work had been accomplished and that, in his own ringing words, "the sweetest canticle is *Nunc dimittis*". He knew that he could safely leave the care of his good name to the next ages, *and to his own countrymen after some time be passed over*. Has that time now come? Perhaps the fourth centenary will bring the answer.

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Officially our Society was founded in 1886, but the first meeting was held on Friday, December 18, 1885, at 81, Cornwall Gardens, the London home of Mrs. Pott. On Sunday, December 18, 1960, we shall be 75 years old—a good record for any literary society, and a good omen for the truth for which we contend. Our 75th anniversary is overshadowed, however, by a more important one. The 400th anniversary of the birth of Francis Bacon falls on Friday, January 22, 1961 ; barely six months after the 300th anniversary of the foundation of the Royal Society in July, 1960.

At the time of writing it is not possible to say exactly what form our celebrations will take. Other foundations interested in the life and work of Francis Bacon may be equally concerned to mark the occasion. There will probably be two opportunities



for members living in this country to assemble, one at Gray's Inn and one at Canonbury Tower, where a special masque is being prepared by our Secretary, Mrs. Brameld, which we hope will be acted in the Tower Theatre. But those of our members who live abroad will naturally expect this issue of *Baconiana* to commemorate for them this important anniversary.

It is in the pages of *Baconiana* that the principal and lasting contributions to original research on the life and times of Francis Bacon are on permanent record. The Editors felt that the present issue ought to contain at least one article which summarises the present state of our controversy, apart from the cryptological evidence which has been put forward recently. For, important though the latter may well prove to be, we have always maintained that our controversy is well established on literary and historical grounds. To fulfil this requirement we are reprinting the article "Who was Shakespeare" by a distinguished American lawyer, Richard Bentley, of the Illinois Bar. This was the first article of a series which recently appeared in the journal of the American Bar Association under the running title of "Elizabethan Whodunnit" and is reprinted in *Baconiana* by kind permission of its author and the Editor.

Mr. Bentley's article skilfully demolishes the Stratford tradition, and briefly summarises most of the rival claims to the Shakespearian authorship, with perhaps a tendency to favour the Oxfordian hypothesis. On reading this article with much appreciation a distinguished and learned American Judge, the Hon. Maja Leon Berry, Vice-Chancellor of the Court of Chancery of New Jersey, wrote to Commander Pares and invited him to prepare an article for the *Law Journal*, explaining the Baconian theory. Judge Berry considered that the case for Francis Bacon required more careful consideration than could be given in a single article summarising all the rival claims and we believe he also used his influence with the Editor of the *Journal* to allow each rival theory a "day in court". The latter's response was magnanimous and the series "Elizabethan Whodunnit" was extended; no reasonable theory was suppressed, and we understand the whole series will be reprinted shortly in book form. When will such candour prevail in our own country?



As a counterpart to Richard Bentley's article, Commander Pares has provided an up-to-date summary of the Baconian hypothesis on the lines of his recent contribution to the *American Journal*. It was not possible to reprint the same article because the main evidence—the *Northumberland Manuscript* and the *Promus*—had recently been elaborated in *Baconiana*. We are therefore printing a new article by him, omitting these points and including others. One of these concerns the extent of political knowledge and *savoir-faire* which is exhibited in the Shakespeare Plays. This is almost unmatched in our literature, and it is proper to ask how all this technical knowledge could have been acquired by a villager. That he could act the parts assigned to him in his own company of players we could believe, but we do not see how he could have been in a position to write them. This is one of the fresh arguments which Commander Pares elaborates ; and it may be recalled that it was this point which led the great statesman Bismarck to reject the Stratford tradition.

We had been wondering what would be the orthodox reactions to the rough handling which the Stratford tradition had received from American lawyers. At last a brief rejoinder appeared, from the pen of Dr. Lewis B. Wright, the distinguished director of the Folger Library who, at page 5 of his report (Vol. 9, No. 1, May 20, 1960) wrote as follows :—

“ The American Bar Association Journal during the past year has published several articles in which lawyers argue about the authorship of Shakespeare's plays with all the earnestness of a trial in court—and the same techniques. No one has yet pointed out to these gentlemen of the Bar that persuasion is not factual evidence, and the methods of winning a case before judge and jury represent an art entirely different from the objective analysis of evidence employed by a trained scholar. The lawyers for the most part espouse the ‘ case ’ of the Earl of Oxford—one of the most unsuitable and unlikely of candidates—and then proceed by well-tried courtroom tactics first to cast doubt on Shakespeare's authorship and next to select bits and pieces of evidence which they think will build up the presumption that Oxford is the man. They confuse facts with hypotheses, and distort such evidence as they have by carefully selecting the information that seems to prove their contentions and by eliminating or disregarding information which is embarrassing to their thesis. It is not an impressive intellectual performance, but

a few lawyers are having a marvellous time persuading themselves and a few of their less canny brethren. A distinguished Washington jurist recently shook his head sadly and commented : ' Of course lawyers are not interested in evidence ; they are trained to win cases tried before other lawyers who know the rules of courtroom procedure '. Despite the good time that the lawyers are having, no one has disproved a mite of the evidence that Shakespeare of Stratford is the author of the plays that bear his name, or that anyone else wrote them. The Folger Library has no partisan concern to maintain the authorship of anyone. We simply do not have the time and patience to waste in arid sophistries and futile hypotheses. If anyone ever produced a single bit of genuine evidence to disprove Shakespeare's authorship or to establish another, every Elizabethan scholar in the land would assist in testing the evidence."

American lawyers seem to have been a little amused at the feebleness of this reply, in which not a single piece of evidence was disputed, and not a single argument was answered in detail. Editorial comment in the *American Bar Journal* smacking somewhat drily of the traditional " Uncle Sam ", read as follows :

" I am sure that members of the American Bar Association have sufficient humility and self-appraisal to be led to mend their ways."

Richard Bentley, whose article we now reprint, has practised law in Chicago since 1922. A graduate of Yale and of Northwestern University Law School, he served as a captain of Infantry during World War I, and as a captain in the Navy in World War II in charge of legal assistance. He was President of the Chicago Bar Association in 1954-1955. A former Chairman of the Section of Legal Education, he is now Chairman of the Committee on Legal Aid Work, an Assembly Delegate, and has been a member of the Board of Editors of the *American Bar Association Journal* since 1946.

We have seldom seen the shams of the Stratfordian tradition so mercilessly and so clearly exposed in so short a space. In the latter part of Mr. Bentley's article the other rival candidates for the Shakespearian authorship are briefly examined. Some points in his summary of the Oxfordian claim will no doubt be challenged by our readers. For, although Oxford's literary tastes can be granted, it is not established with any certainty that he was a resident or graduate of Cambridge University.



As Mr. H. S. Shield points out, his degrees of M.A. at both Oxford and Cambridge were honorary and conferred during a Royal Progress. Whether he alone was the great national bard, or whether he might have been one of Bacon's Knights of the Helmet, is for our readers to weigh and consider. All rival claims must be given a hearing.



PLEMPIUS, 1616. EMBLEM NO. I.  
FORTUNA CASTING DOWN THE ACTOR.

### A NEW LIFE OF BACON

We commend to our readers a new biography, *The Real Francis Bacon* by Bryan Bevan, a member of our Society. While this book was primarily intended as a new appraisal of the historical Francis Bacon, Mr. Bevan had wanted to include a whole chapter on the Shake-speare controversy. Without this no study of Bacon can be really complete, and too many historical facts (of which Spedding can make nothing) have to be left unexplained. It was therefore disappointing to Mr. Bevan to be warned by more than one publisher that, if his book referred to the Shakespeare controversy, it would be unacceptable for publication. We deplore this arbitrary suppression of historical facts, but we are glad Mr. Bevan found a good publisher. Even with this omission, his book is a welcome step towards the better understanding of a great national genius, and towards clearing his name of much unwarrantable calumny.

Many people who have never studied the evidence honestly believe that Lord Bacon received a perfectly fair trial and made a voluntary confession. It would surprise them to hear that he never had a trial at all, that there was no properly constituted court, that the witnesses were examined in Bacon's absence, that none were cross-examined, and that all were promised a free pardon. So the famous "interrogatories"—if taken at their face value—are quite misleading.

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### THE SHAKES-PEARE SONNETS

These mysterious and beautiful poems have long been a subject of controversy and speculation. It is possible that in some degree they are autobiographical, though in exactly what sense it is not easy to say. A dual interpretation is often possible. Some of them will admit a personal and physical interpretation while others will not. Commentators on the Sonnets have often shown how they can be divided into groups, some referring to the Author's early life and declared attachment to a dark lady, some apostrophising his Muse, and some which were written in a mood of great mental anguish. There is nothing which positively identifies the "dark lady" with any particular person; and there is much in these Sonnets to show that the Bard, in apostrophising the "dark lady", had something quite different in mind.

In his book *New Views for Old*, Mr. R. L. Eagle's chapter on the "dark lady" had always impressed us with the probability of a deeper meaning in these particular Sonnets, which—as he says—can hardly be the ones described by Meres as "sugared". We invited him to contribute a special article on the subject, and in particular on the Ovidian inspiration which he had so skilfully traced. The title *The Friend and the Dark Lady* is an intriguing one, and we commend this article as one of the best and most original which Mr. Eagle has written for us.



## CRYPTOLOGY

In our last issue we devoted more space than usual to certain cipher problems which now seem to have become a matter of considerable interest. The comment which we had been expecting from Colonel W. F. Friedman was unfortunately delayed by his recent illness, but we are now happy to report his return to good health, and to announce his general verdict on *Baconiana* No. 160. This is as follows, "We find nothing in the several articles to lead us to modify our views as expressed in our book". Colonel and Mrs. Friedman say, however, that they would be interested in learning something about the more recent cipher finds.

We must confess that a categorical negative was not the answer we had been expecting. But it is a definite answer, and it provides our cryptological enthusiasts with what they were hoping for, since it leaves them with the initiative. They now ask us to challenge Colonel Friedman to give his specific comments on the "TEMPLES" seal, shown in our diagram on pages 20, 21, and supported in the open text by the words "in that name" which were shown in red. Observing that the two words "Temples" and "Bacon" fall into a symmetrical pattern of adjacent letter anagrams in the "squared" text—a pattern centrally aligned and superimposed on the word "Shakespeare" in the open text—they would like to know Colonel Friedman's estimate of the mathematical odds against this occurring by chance in the First Folio. Colonel Friedman is also invited to express his opinion on the chance probabilities of the "He is Pallas Athene" anagram occurring in the First Folio, observing that the doubling of a letter (in this case S) is expressly sanctioned by Camden (1605). Our cipherists do not press Colonel Friedman to accept the latter anagram which, if it had only abstracted the word "Athene", would not have been impressive enough to mention. But its conjunction with the word "Pallas" in a symmetrical "set-square" pattern seems to indicate deliberate design. They therefore invite Colonel Friedman's views on this point, and they would also like him to confirm or reject the demonstration of the Simple Numerical Cipher in Tenison's *Baconiana* (1679), described in detail on pages 87 to 92.

So much for the challenge of our cipherists. The editorial board, while reserving its views on the cipher question, feels it necessary to point out that Colonel Friedman's rejection of all our articles, severally, justifies us in making the following assumptions :

- (a) That he still regards the Northumberland MS.\* as a "set of scribbled Notes" (p. 102).
- (b) That he holds to his opinion (p. 105) that in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act V, "there is no good reason to write the first section of the long word backwards", notwithstanding the dialogue in the open text ("What is Ab spelt backwards").
- (c) That the double acrostic palindrome in Matthew Arnold's *Merope* "can be found in almost any volume of collected poetry" (p. 129) with the same degree of relevant suggestion in the cover text.
- (d) That the combination of two numerical seals with the vertical acrostic "B.C.N.W.Sh.N.M." (Bacon, W.Sh. name) which falls in the 15th verse of *Lucrece* is purely accidental.

We believe our cipherists are justified in holding Colonel Friedman to his promise, and that they should not allow themselves to be put off by a general answer. *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined* goes into details, and a specific question demands a specific answer, even if it be brief. We therefore confidently await Colonel Friedman's reply on the points mentioned above.

Those of our readers who may not have discovered for themselves the passage in the First Folio which was the subject of the diagrams on page 24 (b), (c) and (d), are no doubt waiting to be informed. It had been our intention to produce in this issue "squared" diagrams of this passage from the 1623 Folio, and from the 1598 Quarto. In withholding these diagrams for a few months, we are acceding to a request from Mr. Ewen Macduff (see correspondence). To some of our members, whom he has met, he has already given this information; he is also willing to satisfy any member who will come to a special

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\* 88 folio pages of beautiful script. See Burgoyne's facsimile and transcription (1904).



meeting. We therefore decided that, since *Baconiana* reaches opponents as well as friends, it would be fairer to Mr. Macduff to postpone printing these diagrams until the next issue. The cryptic interpretation of this passage is a matter on which, as editors, we again reserve our opinion ; but its existence in the 1623 Folio we can guarantee, having ourselves corrected the proofs.

Professor Henrion, who contributed a penetrating article to our last issue (*Scientific Cryptology Examined*) has sent us an interesting and instructive letter about *The City and the Temple*. Step by step, and beginning with certain drawbacks inherent in the "squaring" system, he apparently came to the conclusion that its validity must be allowed. But, as he says at the end of his letter, we must beware of repeated attempts to misrepresent or suppress these discoveries.

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#### BACON'S PSALMS

Bacon's poetical gifts, admired by such good judges as Emerson and Shelley, and extolled by the unknown authors of the *Manes Verulamiani*, are sometimes subjected to unfair criticism. This is partly due to the desire of our opponents to disqualify him absolutely as a candidate for the Shakespearean authorship by claiming that nothing he wrote was truly inspired, and that he was simply a dry-as-dust philosopher and lawyer. This, of course, will not hold water. But a second and more plausible reason for questioning Bacon's poetical powers is provided by his translation of certain psalms into English verse, which he dictated from a sick bed at the age of 64 ; though whether this would be a fair test for any poet is a debatable question.

Further light is thrown on this interesting subject in recent correspondence between Mr. H. S. Shield and Commander Pares. We print two of these letters ; and we also reprint, with due acknowledgment to the publishers, a most interesting criticism of Bacon's *Psalms* by one who found them almost as moving as Spedding. This appeared in a book called *Will o' the Wisp* written by George Hookham (Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1922).

## OBITUARY

THE Council has to record with great regret the death of Mr. Lewis Biddulph, youngest son of the late General Sir Richard Biddulph, on November 21, 1958.

We of a younger generation regarded Lewis Biddulph with some awe ; not because of his appearance which was benign—with twinkling eyes peering through round gold-rimmed spectacles—or his manner, which was courteous and gentle, but rather because of his vast store of learning distilled from numberless books. He was a mine of information on Rosicrucian and Masonic lore ; but perhaps these things, and even his Baconianism, were only stepping-stones to other contemplations.

Yet personal memories of a lovable man should not be allowed to obscure his long record of devoted service to the Francis Bacon Society, of which he had been a member for more than 50 years ! He was elected to the Editing Committee of *Baconiana* in 1930, and contributed an interesting article to the February, 1932 issue on the origins of Freemasonry, showing a profound knowledge of this subject. In March, 1932, he was elected Honorary Treasurer, and still continued his series of lectures on the Rosicrucian Fraternity and its association with Freemasonry and Francis Bacon's works. After a few years he ceased to act in an Editorial capacity, but continued as Hon. Treasurer until 1952—a notable record. Early in 1958, the year of his death, but fortunately while still able to appreciate the distinction, Lewis Biddulph was invited to become a Vice-President of the Society.

We understand from his daughter that he had often expressed a wish to go suddenly, without pain, and this was granted. Perhaps he would have liked to have been remembered by the lines taken from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and quoted in the *Comte de Gabalis*, by the Abbe N. de Montfauçon de Villars.



But such a life will be higher than mere human nature, because a man will live thus, not in so far as he is a man, but in so far as there is in him a divine Principle. And in proportion as this Principle excels his composite nature, so far does the Energy thereof excel that in accordance with any other kind of virtue.

We shall miss Lewis Biddulph, not only as a link with the early days, but as a life-long and devoted friend of the Society.

N.F.

## APPEAL FOR JUSTICE

By EDWARD D. JOHNSON

THE British public have a well-deserved reputation for justice and fairness when estimating the characters of public men, but there is one instance where they have been neither just nor fair and this is the case of Francis Bacon. This is due to the fact that they have relied on the so-called authorities for a correct estimation of his character, and in so doing they have been entirely misled. The present-day estimate of Francis Bacon's character is mainly founded on the infamous and slanderous essay of Lord Macaulay, the general effect of which has been to throw contempt on Bacon as a man, and to found a vulgar prejudice against him by perverse insinuations and violations of the truth.

The authorities, including school-teachers, university professors and many journalists, have followed Macaulay like a flock of sheep, both in disregarding Bacon's real biographers (like Montague, Spedding and Dixon) and in making no attempt to ascertain the truth for themselves. It is now well known that Macaulay poisoned the well of truth when writing essays on men like Francis Bacon, the Duke of Marlborough and Warren Hastings ; but because of his undoubted gift of style he will continue to be read.

Before vindicating Francis Bacon's character, it is necessary to deal first with the character of Macaulay. The most candid witness against Macaulay is Sir Winston Churchill who, in his great work on the life of his illustrious ancestor the Duke of Marlborough (*Marlborough and his Times*) gives his opinion as follows : " Macaulay with his captivating style and devastating self-confidence was the prince of literary rogues who always preferred the tale to the truth and smirched or glorified great men according as they affected his drama ". Lord Acton, in his letters to Mary Gladstone wrote, " When you sit down to Macaulay, remember that his essays are really flashy and superficial. His two most famous reviews, on Bacon and Ranke, show his incompetence. The essays are only pleasant reading

and a key to half the prejudices of our age. He is, I am persuaded, grossly and basely unfair." Later on Lord Acton describes Macaulay as "utterly base, contemptible and odious".

David Salmon, the Principal of Swansea Training College, in his introduction to Macaulay's "Essay on Bacon" published forty-three years ago says—"The essay is divided into two sections, the first half the life, and the second the writings, and if anything could exceed the exaggeration of the faults of Bacon's life in the first it is the misrepresentation of the aims and results in the second. Macaulay had undertaken a task for which his mental constitution unfitted him. Instead of examining all the facts and then arriving at a conclusion, he began with a strong conclusion and proceeded to state the reasons for it, ignoring or flouting the rest. If he had chosen the wrong conclusion to start with, the farther did he go astray from truth".

Augustus C. Buell in his work *William Penn* (1904) wrote: "Macaulay always wrote for an object—party and the peerage". Thomas Carlyle sums him up as "The sublime of the commonplace, not one of whose ideas had the least tincture of greatness and originality or any kind of superior merit, except neatness of expression". Perhaps this is going too far, but it is not surprising to find that the University of Oxford ordered all Macaulay's works to be placed in a special category as "not trustworthy for History".

Seventy years ago James Spedding, who was a fine scholar and the most competent biographer of Francis Bacon in those days, minutely investigated Macaulay's charges against Bacon. In his book *Evenings with a Reviewer* he examined them with scrupulous care and completely vindicated the great Chancellor from the base motives imputed to him by Macaulay. Hepworth Dixon also took up the cudgels, and likewise repudiated these false accusations. Unfortunately, several modern biographers of Bacon have been guilty of repeating them, and misleading many people into adopting the view that Bacon was a corrupt judge. It is a cause for national shame that this odious charge is still a current belief, even among persons of education and culture. If one protests that Bacon was not guilty of such corruption, one is sometimes met with the reply, "But he confessed it himself". *He did not.*



Those who still have doubts on the subject should consult the original documents in the case. For the benefit of those who cannot undertake this labour the following is an epitome of the main facts ;

(1) In contradistinction to Queen Elizabeth, who was careful in money matters, James I was extravagant. In order to obtain funds for himself and his Favourite, Buckingham, he created monopolies in certain trades, and those who infringed these monopolies were brutally persecuted.

(2) Parliament took action against two of the agents who extorted money in this manner, and then challenged the legality of these monopolies. The King replied that he had the right to act thus, and had been so advised by his Law Officers.

(3) Francis Bacon *voted against* maintaining the monopolies, but the majority of the Law Officers voted in favour of them. Thus, as Lord Chancellor, he was made by this majority vote to appear to uphold a course of which he disapproved.

(4) His inveterate and unscrupulous enemy, Sir Edward Coke, who was Leader of the House of Commons, at once took advantage of the fact that Bacon (then Lord St. Alban) was placed in a false position. He saw his chance to ruin his rival. Aided by Cranfield, Churchill, Williams, and other unprincipled subordinates, he caused committees to be appointed, not only to enquire into the rights of the Crown to create monopolies, but also to examine abuses in the Law Courts.

(5) The committee, at Coke's instigation, then accused the Chancellor of receiving bribes for the purpose of perverting justice ; and the House of Lords constituted themselves into a tribunal, which first collected evidence against him and then, *without hearing evidence in his defence*, pronounced judgment upon him—a shocking travesty of justice.

(6) Lord St. Alban was taken by surprise and the blow seriously impaired his health. He requested permission for the obvious right to examine the charges, call his own witnesses, and cross-examine his accusers. But he felt instinctively that Parliament, incited by Coke, had determined to find a scape-goat and that he would be convicted in any case. To his servant Bushell, he said : “ I see my approaching ruin ; there is no hope of mercy in a multitude ”.

(7) The King realised that if the Chancellor were to prove his innocence, the Commons, in their indignant frame of mind, would vent their wrath on his Favourite, Buckingham. Therefore, as Hepworth Dixon says : " In a private interview James now urges the Chancellor to trust in him ; to offer no defence : to submit himself to the peers ; to trust his honour and his safety to the Crown ". Both Buckingham and Williams had suggested this course to the King.\* But the King broke his promise of royal protection : he sacrificed his Chancellor to save his Favourite.

(8) The acceptance of monetary gifts by public officials, not *pendente lite* but on the conclusion of a case, was a recognised custom in Tudor times. They were indeed necessary, in order to eke out the scanty incomes allowed by the State. In the case of judges, such gifts were made quite openly and were not considered as bribes. They were given by suitors on both sides and were commonly handed to servants of the judge. The custom was a bad one and liable to abuse, as Lord St. Alban himself agreed. But he could not put a stop to it all at once.

(9) In 1628 one of his retainers, Thomas Bushell, published a book entitled *The First Part of Youth's Errors*, in which he says : " I must ingenuously confess that myself and others of his servants were the occasion of exhaling his virtues into a dark eclipse ", and he further admits that he and others " laid on his guiltless shoulders our base and execrable deeds . . . who in his own nature scorned the least thought of any base, unworthy, or ignoble act ".

(10) The best proof that his decrees were just and uninfluenced by gifts, is that not one of the many thousands was ever reversed, all of them standing firm to this day.

(11) After careful examination of every charge, Hepworth Dixon (a barrister by profession) writes : " Thus after the most rigorous scrutiny into his acts, and the official acts of his servants, not a single fee or remembrance can by any fair construction be called a bribe ; not one was given on a promise : not one in secret : not one is alleged to have corrupted justice ".

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\* See Hachet's *Life of Dean Williame*.

(12) Mr. Parker Woodward has pointed out that the charges when dealt with in detail, do not stand examination, and that before a Commission of Judges of the present day they would fall to pieces.

(13) What did Francis Bacon say in his own defence? Here are his own words: "There be three degrees or cases . . . of gifts or rewards given to a judge. The first is—of bargain, contract, or promise of reward, *pendente lite*. . . . The second is—a neglect in the judge to inform himself whether the case be fully at an end or no. . . . And the third is—when it is received, *sine fraude*, after the case is ended, which it seems, by the opinion of the civilians, is no offence. . . . For the first, I take myself to be as innocent as any babe born on St. Innocent's day in my heart. For the second, I doubt in some particulars I may be faulty. And for the last, I conceive it to be no fault". There lies the kernel of the matter. He frankly admitted carelessness; he did not admit bribery.

From records now available it is evident that the whole affair was a political plot, and was so regarded at the time. His imprisonment in the Tower only lasted two days, and his letter of May 31, 1621, to the wretched Buckingham commenced thus peremptorily: "Good my Lord: Procure the warrant for my discharge this day". Does a guilty man demand his release? No, it was an outburst of indignation from an innocent man who, having accepted the Royal promise of a pardon, was suffering foul treatment by enemies of contemptible character. It was innocence refusing to be further humiliated by perjured accusers. If any evidence be needed of the respect and admiration for him shown by his personal friends, it will suffice to quote the tribute of one who was very sparing in his commendation of others, namely Ben Jonson. After Bacon's political fall, Jonson wrote:

In his adversity I ever prayed, that God would give him strength :  
for Greatnesse hee could not want. Neither could I condole in a  
word, or syllable for him ; as knowing no Accident could doe harm  
to vertue ; but rather helpe to make it manifest.

Notice particularly that Jonson refers to Bacon's fall as an "accident" which could not "doe harm to vertue". This was the accepted view in those days and cannot be doubted.



In a period when intrigue and corruption were widely prevalent, Francis Bacon was looked up to as a man of honesty and integrity, who regarded statecraft as a great and worthy calling. Here is the testimony of his biographer, James Spedding :

Had he not fallen, or had he not fallen upon a future less desolate in its outward conditions I should never have known how great and invincible a thing intrinsic goodness really is.

With regard to the accusation of ingratitude towards Essex it is only needful to say that this, too, has been effectually exposed by Spedding, while so eminent a legal authority as Sir Frederick Pollock has ridiculed the notion that Bacon might have stood aside from the prosecution of Essex for high treason. It was quite impossible for him to shirk his duty to the Crown, and in any case it was Coke who took the leading part. Bacon spoke as leniently as was compatible with his public duty in so serious a matter.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the unworthy imputations against the honour of Francis Bacon may now cease. This appeal is made to school-teachers, that they will not imbue the young mind with false ideas, to University professors, that they will lend the weight of their authority in opposing these slanders; to historians and writers that in speaking of Bacon they may do this with judgment and fairness ; to journalists, that they may exercise their immense power, for good or for evil, more responsibly : to all, in fact, who by the spoken or written word can disseminate ideas, that they may not be misled into injuring the good name of one of England's greatest servants.

Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban, is one of the greatest figures in our national history. But it is difficult to be liberal in our appreciation of a man's mental equipment, if we are vaguely conscious that his character is open to reproach. Remove that reproach, and our interest is at once quickened. At present the public has little conception of the real extent of Francis Bacon's work, and the gratitude which is due to him. His outer life is known, but the full story of his inner life has not yet been told. When all is revealed, the world will stand amazed at his stupendous achievements in face of dangers and difficulties little understood by us in these days. His power of self-effacement, in order that he might carry out in secret that

which could not be done openly, is a tribute at once to his genius and to his moral worth. Francis Bacon has not yet come into his own, but the day is not far distant when his name will be on every lip, and the immensity of his work for humanity will at long last be fully recognised.

\* \* \* \* \*

### MENTE VIDEBOR

“BY THE MIND I SHALL BE SEEN”



Woodcut on the title-page of Peacham's *Minerva Britannica*, 1612, which contains an emblem dedicated to Sir Francis Bacon (see pp. 67 and 74).

This finds an echo in Powell's *Attourneys Academy*, 1623, in a dedicatory verse addressed to "Francis, Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albanes" . . .

*O give me leave to pull the Curtaine by  
That clouds thy worth in such obscuritie*

On the scroll intertwining the laurel wreath is written :

“One lives in one's Genius, other things depart in death”

## THE "FRIEND" AND THE "DARK LADY" OF THE SONNETS

By R. L. EAGLE

WE are all attracted by the fascination of the mysterious. It is not the obvious in crime, followed by the early arrest of the culprit, which commands the big headlines ; it is that which baffles investigation. There are some who have devoted years of study and research trying to solve the numerous historical mysteries. Literature, too, provides plenty of scope in problems other than the authorship of anonymous masterpieces, or of those published under names which careful and minute examination has shown could not possibly have been written by such persons. Sometimes the real author has been identified : sometimes not.

Among literary mysteries, the Shakespeare Sonnets have provided more perplexity and controversy than any other work in the English language. It is now 350 years since they were first published (352 to be exact) and the enigma presented by them has been declared to be "as insoluble as ever". Yet it would be absurd to imagine that any author could write no less than 152 sonnets without some background for inspiration. This problem has occupied my mind, on and off, for some forty years. It astonishes me that the Shakespearean "experts" should keep repeating the nonsense that any of the Sonnets are addressed to a nobleman (Southampton, Pembroke or Essex) in the face of the contrary proofs provided. They cannot be unaware of the rigid class distinctions of those days ; that even the festive students of Gray's Inn regarded players as "base and common fellows". For one of these to have so much as suggested to a peer that he should—

"Make thee another self for love of me"

(S.10)

would have been a star-chamber offence. Sonnet 39 explains what that "other self" is. It is to be more permanent than an heir of the body.



A little time back, I picked up a copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which was a favourite of my Latin master in the days before science relegated the classics from their important place in education. I enjoyed Latin and have always kept my admiration for its literature. In my last year at school I was given to translate the magnificent lines with which Ovid ends the fifteenth and last book of his greatest work. Here is a literal translation of this particular epilogue which gave me the key to the real meaning of the sonnets, and the object of Shakespeare's intense admiration :

And now I have completed a work which neither the anger of Jove, *nor fire, nor sword*, nor consuming Time, will be able to destroy.\* Let that day, which has no power but over my body, put an end to my uncertain life when it will. Yet in my better part (*parte tamen meliore mei*) I shall be raised immortal above the lofty stars, and indelible shall be my name.

It has been observed that there is an echo here in Sonnet 55 :

*Nor Mars his sword, nor war's quick fire*  
Shall burn the living record of your memory.

Note, too, how Shakespeare condenses the essence of the epilogue into two lines :

Your name from hence immortal life shall have,  
Though I, once gone, to all the world must die.

But to me, the discovery which was far more exciting and important was that Ovid should call his Muse or Genius "the better part of me". Years of study have enabled me to memorise the Sonnets pretty well, and twice Shakespeare uses that same phrase for the "friend" whom he is addressing, and which I had already suspected was not a contemporary person or patron, but an image or representation of his Mind, Muse or Genius : the immortal part of him. The first occurs in No. 39 :

O how thy worth with manners may I sing,  
When thou art all the better part of me ?  
What can mine own praise to mine own self bring ?  
And what is't but mine own when I praise thee ?  
Even for this let us divided live,  
And our dear love lose name of *single one*  
That by this separation I may give  
That due to thee which thou deserv'st alone.

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\* "Consuming Time" ("edax vetustas"). There is a reminiscence of this at the opening of Sonnet 19 : "Devouring Time", &c.

This sonnet clearly states that his love is for what he calls "the better part of me". For this he promises immortality in one sonnet after another, but he cannot praise it with "manners" (modesty) because, by so doing openly, he would be guilty of self-praise. He, therefore, makes an imaginary or dramatic separation between himself and his genius, which he represents as something apart, so that he can express his affection for his own creative work whilst seemingly bestowing it upon another. It is such a thin disguise that I am astonished that none of the learned commentators of several generations has seen through it. In his plays, Shakespeare consistently condemns self-praise, and so does Bacon in his *Essay Of Friendship*. The Ovidian phrase is repeated in No. 74 :

The earth can have but earth, which is his due,  
My spirit is thine, the better part of me.

The Elizabethan poets and philosophers were steeped in the classics. Latin was the international language of scholars ; and it is not surprising to find that those majestic lines of Ovid inspired others. Thus the poet Daniel calls his Muse his "better part" in *Cleopatra* (594), and we find Peele writing in *The Arraignment of Paris* :

And look how much the Mind, the better part,  
Doth overpass the body in desert.

Drayton, in his Sonnets called *Idea* (meaning "Idea" in its original classical meaning of a *representation* or *image*) also calls his "Idea" (*i.e.* the representation of his Muse) "the better part of me" :

Ensuing ages yet my rhymes shall cherish  
Where I entombed *my better part* shall save ;  
And though this earthly body fade and lie,  
My name shall mount upon eternity.

*Sonnet 44*

The source here seems to have been the last two lines of Ovid's *Amores* (Elegy, I, 15) which Ben Jonson in *Poetaster* translates :

Then when this body falls in funeral fire,  
My name shall live, and my best part aspire.

The relationship between the Mind, Muse or Genius with "the better part", and its survival after death, is also to be found

in the best known of Horace's Odes (Bk. III, 30) beginning "Exegi monumentum aere perennius". It was well-known to Shakespeare for it inspired the opening of Sonnet 55 :

Not marble, nor the gilded monuments of princes  
Shall outlive this powerful rhyme.

Every educated person of those times would be familiar with the Odes, and Shakespeare would remember this particular one :

Non omnis moriar ; multaque pars mei  
Vitabit Libitinam,

which may be translated " I shall not wholly die, for the better part of me shall escape Libitina ". (Libitina was the goddess of death.)

To understand the Sonnets it is idle to look beyond the author himself.\* Immortality cannot be promised to anybody who is not even named. They do not, in my opinion, include Shakespeare's " sugred sonnets among his private friends " mentioned by Meres in 1598. Sonnets written in sugared ink, so that the writing would shine, were often sent as compliments between literary gentlemen, and they were headed by the names of the addressees. On page 46 of my " Shakespeare : New Views for Old ", I quoted such a sonnet. This was addressed to Sir Francis Bacon by John Davies of Hereford in 1610, in which he praises Bacon's muse in glowing terms, and ends with the couplet :

My Muse thus notes thy worth in ev'ry line,  
With ynce which thus she sugers ; so to shine.

Indeed, there is nothing " sugary " about the Shakespeare sonnets. For the most part they are reflections upon mortality, the bitterness of which is only tempered by confidence in the imperishable quality of his verse which, he writes :

shall still find room,  
Even in the eyes of all posterity.

The above interpretation will not appeal to those orthodox Shakespeareans who, failing to suspect allegory, accept the opening group of nineteen sonnets as addressed to an Adonis-like friend or patron, urging him to marry and preserve his beauty in reproduction.

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\* 'Tis thee (myself) that for myself I praise (Sonnet 62).



That the addressee was unmarried is apparent :

Is it for fear to wet a widow's eye,  
That thou consum'st thyself in single life ?

Bacon's mother had been a widow since 1579, and he himself was unmarried. If we read these sonnets as a debate within himself on the subject of whether one of exceptional talent should marry and burden himself with the cares and responsibilities of family life, or devote himself to the creation of enduring works, they assume a very different meaning from the conventional theory. The decision made agrees with what Bacon says in the *Essay Of Marriage*, and in that *Of Parents and Children* :

And surely a man shall see that the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men, who have sought to express the *images of their minds* where those of their bodies have failed ; so as the care of posterity is most in those that have no posterity.

Shakespeare declares that *he* will endure "in eternal lines" :

So long as men can breathe or eyes can see,

and the last line of the sequence sums up his chain of reasoning :

My love shall, in my verse, ever live young.

Thus much for the "friend" ; now we shall consider the "dark lady".

\* \* \* \* \*

Poets from the earliest recorded time have associated black with misfortune, evil and disaster, so that it has become symbolical. Thus "Caliban" is "a thing of darkness". In the plays we have "black desires", "black tidings", "black despair", etc. The commentators, having failed to recognise, or even suspect, that the sonnets are allegorical, and so putting a gross material construction upon them, have misled both themselves and their readers with futile attempts to identify the "man right fair" and the "woman coloured ill" with contemporary persons with whom the poet is supposed to have been on terms of intimacy. The former is representative of all that is true and beautiful, endurable "to the last syllable of recorded

time", and who shall triumph " 'gainst death and all-oblivious enmity". In the "dark lady" sonnets we are told how the poet was tempted away from the light and delight of his true love to mundane pursuits, leading to disillusionment and shame through the banishment of self from self.

In some of the earlier sonnets, he prepares us for that pessimism which completely takes possession of him in those later verses which relate his adventures with the fickle and false "dark lady". The first indication of the approaching storm is in Sonnet 29, where he describes himself as an outcast "in disgrace with Fortune and men's eyes". But he has one comfort left, and joyously concludes :

Yet in these thoughts, myself almost despising,  
Haply I think on thee ; and then my state,  
Like to the lark at break of day arising  
From sullen earth, sings hymns at heaven's gate :  
For thy sweet love remembered such wealth brings,  
That then I scorn to change my state with kings.

In the next Sonnet (30), he unfolds a tale of many woes in the remembrance of which he bewails his "dear time's waste", and again consoles himself by turning his thoughts to the love for his "friend", who is the essence of all that is pure and beautiful in nature, and is dedicated to posterity. In No. 37, he continues to blame Fortune as the cause of all his sorrow :

So I made lame by Fortune's dearest spite,  
Take all my comfort of thy worth and truth.

This theme is not re-stated until No. 90, in which he says that he is the object of the world's malice and again alludes to "the spite of Fortune". In No. 111, he calls her "the guilty goddess of my harmful deeds" and laments that she did not provide better for him "than public means which public manners breed". The word "public" is in its Latin meaning of "publicus"—appertaining to the State. Thus we have "our public court" (*As You Like It*) ; "public laws" (*Timon of Athens*). There is no allusion here to appearances in the play-houses as the orthodox imagine. Probably the "vulgar scandal" has reference to the part Bacon was compelled to take in the trial of the Earl of Essex following which, as he complained to Cecil, he was subjected to "lies and libels". These melancholy

thoughts continue throughout the sequence which leads up to the "dark lady" motif which begins in No. 127, and they continue throughout the twenty-four sonnets which follow.

Now there is no doubt in my mind that the poet borrowed his treatment of the episode of the subject from Chaucer's poems, particularly *The Romaunt of the Rose* :

Another love also there is,  
That is contrarie unto this,  
Which desyre is so constreyned,  
That it is but while feyned;  
Awey fro trouthe it doth so varie,  
That to good love it is contrarie.  
This love cometh of dame Fortune,  
That litel whyle wol contune ;  
For it shall chaungen wonder soon,  
And take eclips right as the moon.

Similarly, the device of the so-called "dark lady", and the other allusions to the evil influence of the pursuit of Fortune, are but self-confessed instances of "dressing old words new" (76). In Chaucer's allegorical romance (it consists of three fragments translated from the 13th century French of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung) "Reason" defines true friendship, and contrasts its benefits with the ills into which men run by pursuing Fortune. As in the Sonnets, there is insistence upon her frowardness, mutability, perversity and wantonness :

For this Fortune that I of telle,  
With men whan hir lust to dwelle,  
Makith hem to lese her conisaunce,  
And nourishith hem in ignoraunce.

Dame Reason also gives a long sermon upon the various kinds of love. Reason is the physician, as these lines, spoken by the sufferer from the "disease", plainly show :

Thus as I made my passage  
In compleynt, and in cruel rage,  
And I nist where to finde a leche  
That couthe untó myn helping eche,  
Out of her tour I saugh Resoun,  
Discrete and wys, and ful pleasaunt,  
And of her porte ful avenaunt.

Later we learn that the counsel and prescriptions of Reason were ignored. And thus it follows in Sonnet 147. Reason is again

the physician and, as Chaucer wrote, " Her doctrine sette at nought " :

My love is as a fever, longing still  
For that which longer nurseth the disease ;  
Feeding on that which doth preserve the ill,  
Th' uncertain-sickly appetite to please.  
My reason, the physician to my love,  
Angry that his prescriptions are not kept,  
Hath left me.

Chaucer makes Reason commend such love as that of friendship :

Love there is in sondry wyse,  
As I shall thee here devyse.  
For some love leful is and good ;  
I mene not that which makith thee wood (i.e. *Mad*)  
And ravishith from thee all thy wit,

which Shakespeare transmutes in the lines :

Past cure I am now Reason is past care,  
And frantic *mad* with evermore unrest ;  
My thoughts and my discourse as *madmen's* are  
At random from the truth vainly expressed.

(147)

Chaucer then makes Reason give a warning against lustful love, and also against love of Fortune, as certain to disqualify him who seeks :

For to gete and have the Rose.

The Rose is the emblem of beauty as applied to the soul, and Shakespeare applies it to his " friend "—the personification of the Muse—who is to live " So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see " :

For nothing this wide universe I call,  
Save thou, my Rose, in it thou art my all.

(109)

It is " the eternal rose " of Dante (*Paradiso XXX*).

A considerable portion of Chaucer's *Book of the Duchesse* is also devoted to a discussion on the evil deeds of Fortune :

To derke is turned all my light,  
My wit to foly, my day is night,  
My love is hate, my sleep waking &c.

This Shakespeare transmutes into :

Love is my sin, and my dear virtue hate :  
Hate of my sin, grounded on sinful loving.



Chaucer's association of the malevolence and fickleness of Fortune with night and darkness is significant. The goddess Fortuna was not merely the deity of riches and pleasures. From her hand were also derived poverty, misfortunes and pains. She was represented as blindfolded and generally with a wheel in her hands as an emblem of her inconstancy.

The famous "dark lady" of the Sonnets is, I find, merely a personification of Fortune. The poet is careful to explain that she is only *imagined* as dark because of her deeds :

In nothing art thou black, save in thy deeds,  
And thence this slander, as I think, proceeds.

Bacon wrote that "Fortune is not content to do a man one ill turn".

Shakespeare sees the "dark lady" as an abhorrence. He has been betrayed by her but, in spite of everything, his heart still loves what his eyes despise. The references to her beauty or otherwise are frequently contradictory. In one of the Sonnets he writes of her as one "whose beauties proudly make her cruel", but later on she presents a very different aspect :

My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun ;  
Coral is far more red than her lips' red,  
If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun ;  
If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head.  
I have seen roses damask'd red and white,  
But no such roses see I in her cheeks.

These descriptions are altogether so inconsistent that it is plain that some shape of the poetic imagination was the subject.

\* \* \* \* \*

Certainly, Fortune was, one way and another, Bacon's "worse spirit", as Shakespeare calls the lady in that sonnet beginning :

Two loves I have of comfort and despair,  
Which like two spirits do suggest me still.  
The better angel is a man right fair :  
The worse spirit a woman colour'd ill.  
To win me soon to hell my female evil,  
Tempteth my better angel from my side.



securing the favours of Fortune. "Jack" means any contemptible person—"silken, sly, insinuating Jacks" (*Richard III*). When Shakespeare makes the "dark lady" play upon those "saucy jacks" and begs her to "give them thy fingers, me thy lips to kiss", he makes a technical error which, I think, was committed wilfully for the sake of punning upon "jacks". His knowledge of music has been proved to be accurate, and he must have known that the *keys*, and not the jacks, were fingered in playing the virginals. The strings were plucked by quills which were secured to the jacks, and which in turn were set in motion by the keys. This group of sonnets teems with puns, and punning was a conspicuous weakness of Bacon. Macaulay said "it sometimes obtained mastery over all his other faculties, and led him into absurdities into which no dull man could have fallen". Shakespeare had pursued Fortune feverishly, only to find himself "her neglected child". Now this is significant, for we often talk of "a child of Fortune" (*Fortunae filius*, as Horace says). The term would hardly be appropriate if the poet was alluding to a real mistress. He complains that he can gain "no fair acceptance" with her, but he cannot turn back. He might even say, with poor mad Lear, "I am even the natural fool of Fortune":

But my five wits, nor my five senses can,  
Dissuade one *foolish* heart from serving thee ;  
Who leaves unsway'd the likeness of a man,  
Thy proud heart's slave, and vassal wretch to be.

(141)

For this devotion and slavery he has met with "Fortune's buffets" and not with her rewards—"She that makes me sin awards me pain". Other attributes of Fortune, mentioned in the plays, are blindness and inconstancy :

That goddess blind . . . she is turning and inconstant.

*Henry V* (III, 6)

We find all the defects of Fortune—unkindness, blindness, inconstancy, combined in the "dark lady" :

I am perjured most,  
For all my vows are oaths, but to misuse thee,  
And all my honest faith in thee is lost ;  
For I have sworn deep oaths of thy deep kindness,  
Oaths of thy love, thy truth, thy constancy ;

And to enlighten thee, gave eyes to blindness  
 Or made them swear against the thing they see.  
 For I have sworn thee fair, more perjur'd I  
 To swear against the truth, so foul a lie.

(152)

Other "good set terms" with which the poet railed against Lady Fortune, and which are applicable to the "dark lady" are :

O Fortune, Fortune, all men call thee fickle	( <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> )
Fortune's malice	(3 <i>Henry VI</i> )
Fortune's spite	(3 <i>Henry VI</i> )
Crooked Fortune	( <i>Two Gentlemen</i> )
Chiding Fortune	( <i>Troilus and Cressida</i> )
Fortune's knave, a minister to her will	( <i>Antony and Cleopatra</i> )

In Sonnet 143, Shakespeare compares the "dark lady" with a "housewife" running to catch one of her feathered creatures which has broken away, and he sees himself like her "neglected child" who "holds her in chace", and who :

Cries to catch her whose busy care is bent  
 To follow that which flies before her face,  
 Not prizing her poor infant's discontent ;  
 So runnest thou after that which flies from thee,  
 Whilst I, thy babe, chase thee afar behind.

Bacon also draws a similar analogy of Fortune as a woman elusive in pursuit. It occurs in *The Advancement of Learning* (Bk. II) :

It is not amiss for men, in their *race* toward their fortune, to cool themselves a little with that conceit which is elegantly expressed by the Emperor Charles V, that Fortune has somewhat of the nature of a woman who, if she be too much wooed, is commonly *the further off*.

Bacon's "the further off" tallies with Shakespeare's "afar behind". The word "housewife" had a meaning other than its present one. It also signified a jilt, and the word "hussy" is derived from it. The word is printed "huswife" in the 1609 Quarto. The old meaning is intended by :

The housewife Fortune	( <i>As You Like It</i> )
The false housewife Fortune	( <i>Antony and Cleopatra</i> )

\* \* \* \* \*

Bacon believed that he was born for the service of mankind and, to that end, had taken all knowledge to be his province.



Worldly ambition had, however, temporarily enticed his "better part" or "better angel" from his side, and he had given to mundane affairs time and consideration which, he considered, he should have devoted to the lasting good of all men. In his prayer he wrote :

. . . I confess before Thee, that I am debtor to Thee for the gracious talent of thy gifts and graces, which I have neither put into a napkin, nor put it, as I ought, to exchangers, where it might have made best profit, but mispent it in things for which I was least fit : so I may truly say, my soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage . . .

Bacon's letters to his uncle, Burghley, and to the Earl of Essex, make it clear that he had no enthusiasm for a legal career for, he wrote, "the contemplative planet carrieth me away wholly". By 1594, Bacon was in financial difficulties and Essex, who had been endeavouring to obtain for him the post of solicitor-general through Burghley without success (for Burghley was secretly using his influence with the Queen on behalf of his son, Robert Cecil for the office) resolved to approach the Queen direct, and wrote to Bacon that he had done so but that she had prevaricated. Bacon took this very much to heart, especially in view of "the good memory of my father, and the near degree of alliance I stand in to my lord treasurer". If rejected, he writes, "I will, by God's assistance, with this *disgrace of my fortune*, and yet with the comfort of the good opinion of so many honourable and worthy persons, retire myself with a couple of men to Cambridge, and there spend my life in my studies and contemplations without looking back".

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The Sonnets inform us that Shakespeare sought, in his writings, no personal gain or glory. He had fixed his mind upon posterity. He was confident that his lines would endure "so long as men can breathe, or eyes can see" (18). "Enough for me", wrote Francis Bacon, "the consciousness of well deserving, and those real and effectual results with which Fortune cannot interfere".

If Francis Bacon is considered, even hypothetically, as the author of the Sonnets, many problems vanish. Their interpretation does not present the insuperable difficulties which have confused the commentators ever since the first attempt to unravel their meanings by Malone in 1780. And the same may be said of the many textual and other problems presented by the immortal Plays.

# THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON FOR IMPROVING NATURAL KNOWLEDGE

By NOEL FERMOR

THE tercentenaries of the foundation of the Royal Society, commemorated in July, 1960, and of the death of William Harvey in 1957, almost coincide with the impending fourth centenary of the birth of Francis Bacon. Is there an affinity between these events? The available evidence strongly suggests that there is.

In 1667, Dr. Thomas Sprat published his *History of the Royal Society*. The frontispiece, an engraving by Hollar, shows a bust of Charles II, the Society's first patron, apparently about to be crowned by a symbolical figure representing Fame. Viscount Brouncker, the first president (to the left of the pillar-base) points with his right hand to a Latin inscription, CAROLUS II SOCIETATIS REGALIS AUTHOR ET PATRONUS. Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban, is seen to the right with his left hand pointing unequivocally *away* from the inscription—perhaps to the masonic insignia in the background. At Bacon's feet is the legend ARTIUM INSTAURATOR, which at once reminds us of his great vision for the future, the *Instauratio Magna*.

This enigmatic engraving confirms Bacon's great and well-known influence on the earliest Members of the Royal Society, and no doubt also that of the Knights of the Helmet founded by him and mentioned in the Gray's Inn records.\*

Most of our readers will be aware that the Royal Society was the offspring of earlier meetings in London and Oxford to discuss philosophical and scientific subjects; but the group studying natural philosophy and called by Robert Boyle the "Invisible

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\* This little-known fact was referred to by the Librarian of Gray's Inn, at a Francis Bacon Society meeting, at which the writer was present. The seal of the Royal Society incorporates a coat of arms, which includes a helmet; *sic*, "... in the dexter corner of a silver shield our three Lions of England, and for crest a helm, adorned with a crown studded with florets, surmounted by an eagle of proper colour holding in one foot a shield charged with our Lions: supporters, two white hounds gorged with crowns".

College " was probably separate from the more famous company that foregathered at Gresham House in London. Robert Boyle (1627-91) the famous chemist, and discoverer of Boyle's Law, was a kinsman of Richard Boyle (1695-1753), the fourth Earl of Cork, but also third Earl of Burlington, an English title. Both Robert and Richard were members of the Council of the Royal Society though in different eras. The latter, in conjunction with Dr. Mead (also of the Royal Society), Thomas Martin of the Society of Antiquaries, and Alexander Pope, the poet and Rosicrucian,\* was responsible for the first Shakespeare Statue in Westminster Abbey, erected in 1741. A peculiarity of this statue is the grotesque mis-quotation from *The Tempest* contained in the scroll to which the figure points.†

John Evelyn (1620-1706), the famous diarist, a close friend of Robert Boyle, and an early promoter of the Royal Society, was outstanding both for personal virtue and for scientific learning. He proposed to Boyle the erection of a " philosophical and mathematical college " in 1659 and must have approved the establishment of a philosophical club at Cheapside, London, by his " dear and excellent friend ", Dr. John Wilkins (1614-1672). An interesting note in the famous *Diary*, dated January 6, 1661, reads as follows : " I was now chosen (and nominated by his Majesty for one of the Council), by suffrage of the rest of the Members, a Fellow of the Philosophic Society now meeting at Gresham College, ..... but it had been begun some years before at Oxford, and was continued with interruption here in London during the Rebellion " (*i.e.* Oliver Cromwell's protectorate). It was Evelyn who designed the engraved title-page to Sprat's *History* (see page 65). Lord Arundel, who was a friend of Evelyn, was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and after his death in 1678 his valuable library was given to the Society. An exception was made of those books devoted to heraldry which were accepted by Sir William Dugdale. Sir William, as Garter King-of-Arms, and author of *Monasticon*, was clearly a greatly respected contemporary figure and a man

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\* *cf.* *The Rape of the Lock*. John, father of Alexander Pope, was one of the earliest fellows of the Society.

† See *The City and the Temple*.



who could be trusted. Among other learned works he wrote the well-known book *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656) in which appeared a reproduction of the original Shakespeare Bust at Stratford-on-Avon. The original figure of the Bard (as illustrated in *Baconiana* No. 160, p. 31) is unsatisfying both aesthetically and intellectually, arms and hands appearing in unnatural and wooden postures, the latter resting on a grotesquely-shaped sack-like object which is virtually unidentifiable. The present-day bust, erected in 1746, is not a notable improvement, mainly because of the incredibly stupid expression on the face, but at least the effigy holds a quill! Baconians maintain that both these busts were intended to indicate to the discerning that the Stratford man was *not* the author of the Shakespeare manuscripts. Perhaps Dugdale, in addition to John Evelyn, may be included in Horace Walpole's complaint, in his *Catalogue of Engravers*, that "he knew more than he always communicated". Certainly the shrewd De Quincey states that the exoterici afterwards composed the Royal Society.

According to Sir Geoffrey Keynes, writing in *The Listener* of July 21, 1960, the Invisible College probably owed its origin to Bacon's account of the founding of such a society in the *New Atlantis*, published in 1627, where the objects were defined as *the knowledge of Causes and Secret Motions of Things, And the Enlarging of the bounds of Humane Empire to the Effecting of all Things possible*.

The phrase "the Effecting of all Things possible" is a valuable key to Bacon's behind-the-scene activities, and I believe his inspiration may be traced in every phase of the astonishing emergence of practical and theoretical learning dating from the last decades of the 16th century. In this period there functioned in England several groups of experimental philosophers, many of whose members were acquainted with the great thinker. Meyrick H. Carré, formerly Reader in Philosophy at the University of Bristol, has pointed out\* that all these men, including William Gilbert, and Henry Briggs, who first adapted Napier's logarithms for practical use, were interested in the application

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\* *History To-day*, August, 1960.

of mathematics to problems of *navigation*, and Bacon who was so vitally concerned in the colonization of the New World,\* was certainly well aware of these activities from the very beginning.

The foundation of Gresham College in 1598 gave a valuable impetus to the arts and sciences, which continued until the inception of the Royal Society on November 28, 1660, and in the meantime Briggs had moved to Oxford University, where other meetings took place. By 1645, subjects discussed at Gresham College included physic, anatomy, geometry, astronomy and navigational aids—according to John Wallis, the brilliant mathematician—and inevitably Dr. William Harvey's work on the circulation of the blood. Harvey was personal physician to Bacon, and might well have discussed his theory before delivering the Lumleian Lectures in 1616, at the Royal College of Physicians. William Gilbert established a laboratory at the College, which doubtless proved an attraction to other able men. We have pointed out before† the curious fact that *Coriolanus*, printed in 1623, contained a reference to the circulation of the blood, despite the fact that Shakespeare died in April, 1616. It is, of course, stretching credulity to believe that the actor was responsible for the discovery or was even a confidant of William Harvey. Is it so unreasonable to believe that Bacon must have had a hand in this?

On Easter day, 1626, Francis Bacon's death is recorded.‡ Certainly he disappeared from the contemporary scene in England, and some even believe that he fled to Germany. This theory may or may not be tenable, but it is curious that Harvey's famous book, *De Motu Cordis*, announcing the blood circulation theory, should have appeared in Frankfurt, in 1628, and not in England, even allowing for the fact that the Doctor travelled extensively in Europe on missions for the King.

We have already mentioned the Invisible College, but not the interesting circumstance that leading Continental Baconian protagonists (such as Comenius and Hartlib, a German-Pole by

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\* cf. *Baconiana*, No. 158 ; article, *On Plantations*.

† *Baconiana*, No. 157, November, 1957 : article, *Dr. William Harvey and Francis Bacon*.

‡ At the home in Highgate, of an earlier Earl of Arundel, a friend of Bacon.

birth) as well as the youthful Robert Boyle were among the most prominent members. All these men sincerely believed in Bacon's vision. We may also note that there appears to be no record of the disappearance of the College, although it is now usually supposed to have been absorbed into the Gresham College, and later the Royal Society. However, it is equally tempting to believe that the Invisible College continued to exist *sub rosa*, and that the gentlemen subsequently responsible for the erection of the Shakespeare Statue in Westminster Abbey had a definite object in view. Is it conceivable that the transposition of a whole line and other glaring inaccuracies in the quotation from *The Tempest* could have been accidental? *Ex hypothesi*, carelessness is ruled out of court. It almost seems that Saloman's House of the *New Atlantis* continued its function. Not for nothing, surely, was Robert Boyle known as "the most skilled interpreter of experimental science in the land"; not for nothing did Stubbe, that violent antagonist of Bacon and the Royal Society, name the one "Philosophical father" to the other.†

After the Restoration of Charles II the founding of the Royal Society gave outward form to the inner vision,\* and the aristocratic Bacon would have been pleased to observe that so many of the Founder Members were of noble descent or well connected. Indeed, before long the rules stipulated that no person should be admitted a Member without scrutiny unless of the degree of baron or above! The motto of the Society, *Nullius in verba*, which has been translated as "take no theory on trust", directly reflected the master's insistence, in particular in *Instauratio Magna* (1620), and later more pragmatically in *Sylva Sylvarum* (1627), that philosophical dogma must be replaced by inductive reasoning coupled with physical experiment. Bacon's influence on the Royal Society in the early years of the 17th century had

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† cf. Professor Fowler's Introduction to his edition of *Novum Organum*.

\* Mr. Crowther has pointed out that the official *Record* opens with the statement that "the foundation of the Royal Society was one of the earliest practical fruits of the philosophical labours of Francis Bacon", and that Dr. Sprat in his *History* says "Some of Bacon's writing" gave a better account of the aims of the Royal Society than anything he could compose. *Francis Bacon*, by J. G. Crowther, 1960.

been considerable, and even in the 1670s the Council was still running into considerable financial difficulties owing to its strict adherence to the rule of not debating "any hypothesis or principle of philosophy" until "a sufficient collection of experiments, histories, and observations had become available".

The tercentenary celebrations of the Royal Society held last July have great significance in this modern era of startling scientific developments, and to the discerning eye can justly be regarded as a timely prelude to the four hundredth anniversary in January, 1961, of the birth of the Father of Experimental Science, and the greatest Englishman (in Ben Jonson's phrase), who had been in many ages,—Francis Bacon.



## ELIZABETHAN WHODUNIT : WHO WAS

“ WILLIAM SHAKE-SPEARE ” ?

by RICHARD BENTLEY of the Illinois Bar (Chicago)

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*The Shakespeare works display such polish and cultivation that many have found it hard to attribute them to their reputed author, the man who is buried in Stratford-on-Avon. The problem is not merely a literary one, as Mr. Bentley points out ; the question of the identity of the author of the plays is also one of evidence, and therefore within the province of lawyers. Mr. Bentley bases his discussion largely upon the external evidence, thus greatly reducing the uncertainties of conjectures and deductions from the works themselves which have been common to most discussions of the subject.*

THREE and a half centuries, more or less, have rolled by since the Bard of Avon “ shuffled off this mortal coil ”. Since then Shakespeare has become big business in Stratford, with vested interests, worth millions a year in tourist trade. He has become a “ sacred cow ”. To question his authorship is considered “ bad form ”, like eating peas with your knife, or even spitting on the rug. If you question it you are branded by Shakespeare scholars as either a knave or a fool, or perhaps both.

The scholars help us to understand Shakespearean language, to appreciate the content and structure of the writings and to learn the literary sources upon which the author drew. These are primarily literary questions and strictly within the sphere of scholars. But the question of the identity of the author is not purely a literary question ; it is also a question of evidence. It is, therefore, properly within the province of lawyers to inquire as to the authorship and to judge of the competence and validity of the evidence.

The known facts are few. The first real biography of Shakespeare was published 93 years after his death and covered four pages. This and subsequent biographies are based largely upon inferences from the works and upon assumptions and

guesswork. There is admittedly no direct proof of the authorship. We can arrive only at the most probable solution upon the preponderance of the evidence. And we should not reject a new conclusion merely because it may be different from an old one, long accepted.

Consider by analogy the classic belief that Richard III was an unmitigated villain. The Shakespeare play so portrays him. But research very recently has shown this reputation probably was undeserved and was politically inspired by his enemies of the House of Lancaster who doctored the evidence.

The Piltdown man was accepted as authentic for 50 years until it was proved, and later admitted, to be a hoax. Historians now know Betsy Ross did not design our flag, but tourists still pay admission to her house in Philadelphia to see the "Birthplace of Old Glory".

Let us, therefore, summarize the only contemporaneously recorded and substantiated facts, carefully reviewed and checked. Let us consider the question of the authorship of the Shakespeare works *de novo* in the light of what is now known in order to reach our own individual solutions of the greatest literary "whodunit" of all time.

In what follows it seems appropriate for the purpose of clarifying the discussion to refer to the Stratford man as Shaksper, the name he himself used, and to refer to the author by the published name, Shakespeare. The problem is simply stated : Was Shakespeare the same man as Shaksper, and if not, who was he ?

#### WILLIAM SHAKSPER OF STRATFORD

A William Shaksper (*not* Shakespeare) was baptized April 26, 1564, in Stratford, a town of 1,600, a squalid and "a bookless neighbourhood". Like most of the inhabitants his parents were illiterate. Nothing whatever is known of him until he was 18, when a licence was issued for his marriage to Anne *Whateley* of Temple Grafton. The next day a bond was filed for his marriage to Anne *Hathwey* (sic) of Shottery. No marriage to either Anne is recorded, but a daughter was baptized barely six months later, and 20 months after that, twins.

By 1597, at 33, he had mysteriously become wealthy and contracted to buy perhaps the most pretentious residence in Stratford. In the earliest biography it is reported he received a large payment, the modern equivalent of some \$20,000 from the Earl of Southampton to help him purchase some property, but no *quid pro quo* nor date is suggested.

A letter written to him in 1598 asked for a loan, but there is no evidence he ever read or answered it, nor, indeed, any indication that he ever wrote a letter in his life.

The rest of the records in Stratford show activity in the grain and malt business, transactions in real estate and litigated matters in which he was usually the plaintiff, once suing for less than two pounds. He was godfather to an alderman's son. The only contemporary record of any conversation of his was about his proposed enclosure of common pastureslands, to deprive the poor of their rights. The town of Stratford successfully opposed this.

He signed his will in three places in March, 1616, and died a month later. His will left to his wife his "second best bed with the furniture", and disposed in detail of various articles such as a sword, a bowl, jewelry, plate, etc. It mentioned no interest in a theatre, no writings, no books, nor any literary property whatever.

No public mention was made of his death. His son-in-law wrote in his diary, "My father-in-law died on Thursday". These are all the known facts about his life in Stratford.

Records in London show that in 1612 he signed a deposition in a lawsuit between two men whom the court found to be low characters, with one of whom he had been a lodger in 1604. He and two others bought a house in London and he signed a deed and a mortgage. Two years later there was a lawsuit about the title. The three signatures just referred to and the three on his will are the only signatures ever known to have existed. All are written in a scrawled, unformed hand, all are spelled differently, but none is spelled "Shakespeare".

London records show him as legatee of a small bequest, that he was put under a peace bond in 1596, and was a tax defaulter that year and the next.

These are all the known facts about Shaksper of Stratford. The name William Shakespeare does appear as an actor in 1598, 1603 and 1604, with no reference to any part he played. Nowhere apart from the works themselves was a Shaksper or Shakespeare referred to during his lifetime either as a playwright or a poet.

There is an anecdote, probably apocryphal, in the diary of a barrister of the Middle Temple in an entry for March 13, 1601. This tells that during a performance of Richard III, a lady in the audience became so enamoured of the actor "Burbidge" (Burbage), that she arranged for him to come to her that night. It says "Shakespeare overhearing their conclusion went before, was *intertained*, and at his game ere Burbidge came". When Burbage arrived, Shakespeare sent him word that "William the Conquerour was before Rich. the 3". This Shakespeare's name is given as William, but he is not identified further.

There is a doubtful record of a William Shakespeare unidentified, as receiving 34 shillings for work on a pictorial design.

Nothing whatever is known of the last years of Shaksper's life. The parish register in Stratford records the burial of "Will. Shaksper(e), gent." on April 25, 1616. On a stone in the church over what is shown as his grave appears doggerel verse which it is said he himself wrote :

Good frend, for Iesus sake forbear  
To digg the dust enclosed heare ;  
Blese be ye man yt spares thes stones,  
And curst be he yt moves my bones.

The above are all the established facts about the Stratford man who is considered the greatest literary mind of all time. In the words of Hamlet, "The rest is silence".

No contemporary historian mentions either Shaksper or Shakespeare. One antiquarian published in 1656 an engraving of a monument in the Stratford church with a bust of Shaksper. It showed a sad-eyed man with a drooping moustache and bald head holding a sack of grain in his lap. In 1747 this bust was replaced with the bust seen in the church today. In the new bust the face was wholly changed to look somewhat like the portrait in the First Folio, a pen was shown in his hand and a writing tablet on a tasselled cushion replaced the grain sack.



We find no external evidence to identify William Shaksper of Stratford, or Shakespeare the actor, as an author. What of the works themselves?

Two poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, were published in 1593 and 1594 bearing the name "William Shake-Speare". This name had never previously been published anywhere. It appeared at the end of unauthorized dedications to Henry Wriothesley (pronounced *rots'li* or *rot'es-li*), The Earl of Southampton. The first referred to the work as "the first heir of my invention". Of the 36 plays attributed to Shakespeare, published in the First Folio of 1623, seven years after the death of Shaksper, only 15, all quartos, were published during his lifetime. Of these only nine bore the name Shakespeare as the author, the other six being published anonymously. Only three plays published in that name during his lifetime were ever registered for copyright purposes. Many of the plays were produced and pirated earlier.

Between 1595 and 1611 eight other plays were published also in quarto form, some by the same publishers, with authorship attributed to Shakespeare. Seven of these eight are rejected by Shakespeare scholars as not having been written by him. The eighth is considered doubtful. The scholars thus accept as authentic six quarto plays never attributed to Shakespeare during his lifetime and reject as spurious seven quarto plays which were published under his name or initials. Clearly then they reject title-page evidence as the test of authenticity. Their test is comparison with other works they consider authentic. However, there is extant no manuscript nor any literature whatsoever proved to be Shakespeare's. There exists, therefore, no true basis for any such comparison, and this test of authenticity is necessarily a "boot-strap" operation, a syllogism with no major premise.

In 1599, a book of miscellaneous verse, much of which is rejected by Shakespeare scholars (called the *Passionate Pilgrim*), was published under the Shakespeare name. In 1609 *Shakespeare's Sonnets Never Before Imprinted* appeared containing 154 sonnets and also a poem which scholars reject as not by Shakespeare. The sonnets were dedicated to "Mr. W. H.". It is generally thought by scholars that these are the reversed

initials of Henry Wriothesley, The Earl of Southampton, the man to whom *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* were dedicated.

The sonnets are regarded by scholars as autobiographical. They refer frequently to a fair youth and to a dark lady. The Earl of Southampton, who was nine years younger than Shaksper, is thought to be the fair youth. There is no agreement as to the identity of the dark lady, for whom apparently the author had a hopelessly passionate attachment, in spite of her faithlessness to him. The sonnets indicate the author's devotion to the fair youth. They suggest some scandal about him and that a turn of fortune bars the author from public honour. They express, however, a conviction that the lines will live and give immortality to the person about whom they are written.

There are a few references to the works in contemporary writings. During Shaksper's entire life, however, not one of his contemporaries ever referred to him personally as a writer. The only references to Shakspeare were to writings with which that name was connected, and none referred otherwise personally to a writer of that name. Thus neither in the writings themselves nor in their authorship is there anything whatsoever which identifies the Stratford man with the author of any of the works, or identifies the two different names, Shaksper and Shakspeare with each other.

The negative evidence is significant. There is no record that Shaksper ever attended school ; none that he ever wrote anything. There are no early writings reflecting the development of his skill. Yet he was in his thirtieth year when the first publication appeared, with the literary style well developed. Then after prolific publication of deathless writings the flow suddenly stopped and he spent his last years in utter obscurity. If he wrote the Shakspeare works, he did so without being paid and let them be pirated freely during his lifetime, although this same man was consistently penurious, frequently suing debtors for small sums. Though 20 of the 36 plays were unpublished when he died, his will which made detailed disposition of his belongings, was silent as to any books or other literary property.

It does not appear this man ever travelled abroad or could have become familiar with Latin, Greek or foreign languages.

Yet the author's works show familiarity with foreign countries and languages, familiarity with Latin, especially Ovid ; and he coined thousands of English words of Latin and Greek derivation. He had a vocabulary of 15,000 words, almost twice as many as the 8,000 words in the vocabulary of John Milton, the scholar.

Shaksper of Stratford did not frequent court circles so as to become closely familiar with court life and manners, chivalry, tournaments, falconry and sports of the nobility. If he was the author of the works, we cannot account for his intimate knowledge of these things and of the law ; nor can we understand how one of his consistently materialistic interests could soar to the heights of sublime imagery found in the poetry.

The Shakespeare scholars say that this is all accounted for by his genius. The argument seems to run like this : Shakespeare for centuries has been regarded as the author of the works. The author of the works was a man of superlative genius. Therefore, Shakespeare was a man of superlative genius, and for that reason must have been the author of the works. That is to say, the greater the ignorance and lack of preparation, the greater the genius, and hence the greater the likelihood that Shaksper was the author. This of course is nonsense. Macaulay in his essay on Dryden said :

In poetry, as in painting and sculpture, it is necessary that the imitator should be well acquainted with that which he undertakes to imitate, and expert in the mechanical part of his art. Genius will not furnish him with a vocabulary : it will not teach him what word most exactly corresponds to his idea, and will most fully convey it to others : . . . Information and experience are, therefore, necessary ; not for the purpose of strengthening the imagination, which is never so strong as in people incapable of reasoning—savages, children, madmen, and dreamers ; but for the purpose of enabling the artist to communicate his conceptions to others.

Ben Jonson wrote, " a good poet's made, as well as born ". One would expect scholars as well as lawyers to be among the first to recognize the necessity of education, training and preparation.

Shaksper lived unknown as a literary man, and died unnoticed. There was not even sufficient interest in him for anyone to have inquired about him of his children or of his granddaughter, nor to write even a four page biography about him

until almost a hundred years after his death. Ralph Waldo Emerson said, "The Egyptian verdict of the Shakespeare Societies comes to mind, that he was a jovial actor and manager. I cannot marry this fact to his verse". Charles Dickens said, "The life of William Shakespeare is a fine mystery, and I tremble every day lest something should turn up". Others who are said to have doubted the authorship include persons of distinction in many different fields: Nathaniel Hawthorne, Lord Palmerston, Walt Whitman, Sir George Greenwood, Mark Twain, Prince Bismarck, Sigmund Freud, John Bright, Henry James, Lord Broughton, Lord Penzance and John Greenleaf Whittier.

FRANCIS BACON, BARON VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN

It is noteworthy that (in 1769) within 25 years after the memorial bust in the Stratford church was changed to represent a literary man instead of a grain-dealer, the first book appeared seriously questioning the Shakespearean authorship.\*

The presence of legal allusions and the similarity of certain passages to writings of perhaps the greatest legal scholar and philosopher of the day prompted claims that Francis Bacon was the author.

The facts of Bacon's life are well known. He was born three years before Shaksper (1561) and died 10 years after him (1626). Bacon was educated at Cambridge University (1574-6). He then went to Paris in the suite of the English Ambassador. After his return he studied law and was called to the Bar at the age of 21 years. He became a Bencher of Gray's Inn.

Although he had accepted a substantial estate from the Earl of Essex, he shortly afterwards acted as Queen's Counsel in prosecuting him for the Essex rebellion.

Bacon came into royal favour with James I. He was knighted almost at once, became Solicitor General (in 1607), Attorney-General (in 1613), Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (in 1617) and then (in 1618) Lord Chancellor. Within four years, however, he

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\* *The Shakespeare Ciphers Examined*, Friedman, 1957 (Cambridge University Press).



confessed to a charge of bribery and was imprisoned ; but was released after a few days. Thereafter he devoted himself to literature, writing on jurisprudence, science and philosophy. His education, his breadth of learning, knowledge of law, familiarity with Court circles both abroad and in England, and his unusual literary ability made him the natural choice of those who were convinced the Shakespeare works must have been written by someone possessed of these advantages, and not by Shaksper of Stratford, who apparently had none of them.

The first book claiming Bacon as the author received comparatively little notice. But in 1848, the contention was renewed.\* A number of books appeared. Delia Bacon, an American girl, went to Stratford and, sitting up all night alone in the church, became convinced that Bacon was the author. She published a book, *The Philosophy of Shakespeare's Plays Unfolded*, for which Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote the introduction. Since then hundreds of books have been written on the subject. The best known include a work by Ignatius Donnelly (called *The Great Cryptogram*—1887) and another (*The Bi-Literal Cypher of Francis Bacon*—1900) by Mrs. E. W. Gallup. These contend that cryptograms or ciphers in the works amount to concealed signatures of Francis Bacon, who himself had written a work on cryptography. But these ciphers either tend to cancel out each other or are so broad as to demonstrate that almost any works were written by Bacon.† An Oxford scholar told me he once saw one of these ciphers applied to Milton's *Paradise Lost* and it showed Bacon was its author. By analogy, in the 46th Psalm the 46th word from the beginning is "shake" and the 46th word from the end is "spear", but this hardly proves that Shakespeare wrote that psalm !

In 1916 one George Fabyan, of Geneva, Illinois, ingeniously succeeded in inducing the Circuit Court of Cook County to uphold the Baconian theory. He had William N. Selig, a film producer of Shakespeare plays, file a collusive suit to enjoin Fabyan from publishing material "tending to prove" that

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\* *Was Lord Bacon the Author of Shakespeare ?* by Joseph C. Hart.

† *The Life and Adventures of Common Sense*, by Herbert Lawrence (1769).

Bacon wrote Shakespeare. The court, in an opinion by Judge Richard S. Tuthill, found that Bacon was the author of the works erroneously attributed to Shakespeare, and awarded Fabyan \$5,000 damages for restraint of publication that Bacon was the true author. The Baconians hailed this decision. The executive committee of the court, however, later issued a statement that the question of authorship of the Shakespeare writings was not properly before the court.\*

It is asserted that Bacon's authorship has been accepted by a number of eminent persons, including Nathaniel Hawthorne and Lord Penzance,† distinguished English jurist. But many of the claims are so extravagant, particularly the ciphers and cryptograms, as to incur ridicule. This in turn has had the effect of discrediting all serious efforts to question the authorship of the Shakespeare works.

In 1903 Henry James said :

I am . . . haunted by the conviction that the divine William is the biggest and most successful fraud ever practiced on a patient world. The more I turn him round and round the more he so affects me . . . I can only express my general sense by saying I find it *almost* as impossible to conceive that Bacon wrote the plays as to conceive that the man from Stratford, as we know the man from Stratford, did.

But aided by the eminence of many of its advocates, the Baconian theory persists. Any one who questions the Stratfordian authorship is more than likely to be considered a Baconian.

### CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE

A book appeared about four years ago by a writer, Calvin Hoffman, called *The Murder of the Man Who Was Shakespeare*. This claimed that Christopher Marlowe was the author of the Shakespeare works.

Marlowe was the son of a Canterbury shoemaker, born the same year as Shaksper (1564). Through scholarships he received

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\* *The Shakespeare Ciphers Examined* (pages 206-7) ; *Selig v. Fabyan*, Gen. No. 19054, Circuit Court of Cook County, opinion filed April 21, 1916.

† *The Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy*, by Lord Penzance.

his Bachelor of Arts degree from Cambridge University at twenty, and three years later his Master's degree (1587). At first this degree was withheld, but he received it as the result of an order from the Privy Council signed in the Queen's name. Marlowe was one of the great Elizabethan writers. The scholars infer from the works he sometimes collaborated with Shakespeare. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says of Marlowe :\*

He first, and he alone, guided Shakespeare into the right way of work. . . . He is the greatest discoverer, the most daring and inspired pioneer, in all poetic literature. Before him there was neither genuine blank verse nor a genuine tragedy in our language. After his arrival, the way was prepared, the paths were made straight, for Shakespeare.

The resemblance between his writings and Shakespeare's (some passages being almost identical in language) led Hoffman to the conviction that Marlowe was the author ; so he studied his life.

Marlowe had a close friend in Thomas Walsingham, a wealthy patron of the arts, who inherited a large estate 12 miles outside London. Marlowe and Walsingham were intimate in an erotic relationship. A cousin of Thomas Walsingham was Sir Francis Walsingham, a member of the Privy Council and head of the Elizabethan secret service. He employed 70 spies in espionage and counter-espionage work in England and abroad. Hoffman deduces that it was Sir Francis Walsingham who obtained the order from the Privy Council which got Marlowe his Master's degree from Cambridge.

Marlowe paraded atheistic views. Punishment for heresy was public burning, and one of Marlowe's Cambridge associates, Francis Kett, was burned for heresy in 1589. Marlowe was vain and arrogant and made enemies, who accused him of atheism and homosexuality. Both charges seem to have been true. He showed little interest in the opposite sex.

Open heretical activities could not be overlooked, and the Privy Council in 1593 issued a warrant to apprehend the authors of "lewd and mutinous libels", and if they refused to confess, to put them to torture in Bridewell Prison. One of Marlowe's friends, the poet, Thomas Kyd, was arrested, tortured, and in

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\* *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition.

his testimony implicated Marlowe. Six days later the Privy Council ordered Marlowe's arrest, with a warrant to search the house of Thomas Walsingham, or any other place where he might be found. He was arrested and interrogated, after which he was released on bail. But he was in deep trouble and under orders not to leave London.

Within a few days literary London learned of the sudden "death" (not murder or execution) of "that foul-mouthed atheist and play maker, Christopher Marlowe". Marlowe's death was at first attributed to the plague, then rampant in London, but later it was said he was "stabbed to death by a certain bawdy Serving-man",\* and until 1925 every biography of Marlowe described his death as occurring at Deptford in a tavern brawl.

In 1820 it was learned that the parish records at Deptford showed a burial "1st June 1593, Christopher Marlowe, slain by Francis Archer". No one knew who Francis Archer was.

Then, in 1925 the original record of the coroner's inquest on Marlowe's death, written in Latin, was discovered in the London Public Record Office. This tells that 16 members of the Coroner's Jury swore Marlowe was stabbed to death on the evening of May 30, 1593, by Ingram Frizer (not Francis Archer as the burial record stated). The evidence was that Marlowe and Frizer with Nicholas Skeres and Robert Poley met at the house of a widow, Eleanor Bull. After supper Marlowe was lying on the bed in a private room, Frizer was sitting near the bed with his back to Marlowe, facing a table; Skeres and Poley were sitting on either side of Frizer so that he was hemmed in. Marlowe and Frizer started quarrelling over the reckoning, and Marlowe in anger seized Frizer's dagger and gave him two wounds on the head. Frizer, not being able to get away, struggled with Marlowe, and in self-defence, with the same dagger, gave Marlowe a mortal wound over the right eye, two inches deep and one inch wide, and Marlowe died instantly. The Queen pardoned Frizer a month later. This document is genuine beyond question. It is stamped with the Queen's stamp and signed with her own hand.

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\* *Wit's Treasury*, by Francis Meres (1598).



Hoffman noted that the stabbing was on May 30, 1593, and that the first Shakespeare publication occurred on September 22 of that very year. If Marlowe was killed as the inquest showed, obviously Hoffman's theory of the authorship would fail. But Hoffman was so convinced of Marlowe's authorship he undertook to show that the facts stated in the report of the inquest were falsified. To do so he argued as follows :

Marlowe at the time was in imminent danger of being burned for heresy. His powerful friend and paramour, Thomas Walsingham, assisted by his cousin, Sir Francis Walsingham, engineered the purported death as a means of escape for Marlowe. Hoffman found that Ingram Frizer was in Thomas Walsingham's employ and was a notorious swindler. After his purported killing of Walsingham's beloved favourite, he continued to live on Walsingham's estate, served as a " dummy " for Lord and Lady Walsingham in shady deals, and 20 years later was still in Walsingham's employ. Nicholas Skeres was a " robber " and a " cut-purse " who had already been an accomplice of Frizer in a swindle undertaken for Thomas Walsingham. Poley was the same type as Skeres, or worse. The very day of the stabbing he returned from espionage work abroad and went to Deptford. Hoffman found the inquest report incredible in that when Marlowe and Frizer were quarrelling, Frizer had his back to Marlowe ; that Skeres and Poley did not remonstrate with Marlowe when he stabbed Frizer, but instead continued to sit where they were, blocking Frizer from escape. Hoffman produced testimony from leading neuro-surgeons, whom he characterizes without naming, that Marlowe's immediate " death from the wound described was a medical impossibility ". This was corroborated to me by the late Dr. W. Frederic Schreiber, of Detroit, a leading neuro-surgeon with extensive experience in the field of head injuries.

Reconstructing the evidence, Hoffman gives the following account of what he thinks occurred. Walsingham's three minions went to Deptford and in the disreputable water-front district found a victim, probably a sailor back from a long voyage, whom they lured to the house of Eleanor Bull by offers of drinks and perhaps a wench. The sailor is plied with drinks in the private room, after supper, " passes out " on the bed, and

Frizer, Skeres and Poley carry out their orders. Frizer is taken into pre-arranged custody, so that everything looks regular, and pleads self-defence. The Queen's Coroner is assured by Walsingham that the body is that of Marlowe, the testimony is given and the sailor's body is buried in an unknown and unmarked grave. The parish register shows the burial of Marlowe. Meanwhile Marlowe has escaped in disguise with his books and is safe in hiding abroad. Walsingham then finds a poor actor named Shaksper in London, subsidizes him into permitting his name to be used as the author, and so Shaksper mysteriously became wealthy about this time. Marlowe sent his manuscripts to Walsingham who had them copied before publication to avoid recognition of Marlowe's handwriting. This is corroborated by a bequest to a scrivener in Walsingham's will, a most unusual bequest from one in his position. Hoffman believes that "Mr. W. H." to whom the Shakespeare poems and sonnets were dedicated was Walsing-Ham.

Other corroboration of his theory is offered by Hoffman. Fifty years ago, a Dr. Thomas Corwin Mendenhall evolved a scientific method of detecting authorship by graphs holding good for all the writings of any given author, based on length of sentences, length of words and other characteristics of style. A wealthy Shakespeare enthusiast and believer that Francis Bacon was the author furnished the professor with money for a test. His staff counted two million words taken from the works of well-known authors, including Bacon, Ben Jonson, Goldsmith, Beaumont, Fletcher, Marlowe, Lytton, Shakespeare, etc. Graphs were made from 200,000 words of Bacon, 400,000 of Shakespeare, 75,000 of Ben Jonson, and all the words in the seven plays of Marlowe. There was no resemblance between graphs of Bacon and Shakespeare and the Baconian's money failed to prove what he had hoped. Shakespeare's vocabulary was found unusual in that four-letter words appeared with the greatest frequency. Mendenhall found on comparing the characteristic graphs, that Marlowe "agreed with Shakespeare as well as Shakespeare agreed with himself". As far as Mendenhall knew when he made the test, Marlowe had been killed in a tavern brawl in 1593 and could not possibly have written the Shakespeare plays.

Hoffman hoped to find further corroboration in Walsingham's tomb. He got permission to open it, but found it contained nothing but sand.\* However, he was not permitted to complete his examination of the area around the bodies buried in the crypt below the tomb.

The least that can be said for the Hoffman argument for Marlowe is that it is consistent with what we know, and that we do not know, about Shaksper of Stratford. Two questions, however, arise : First, how did Marlowe become familiar with the law ? And second, Marlowe not being interested in the opposite sex, what accounts for the presence in the autobiographical sonnets of the impassioned poetry addressed to the "dark lady"?

#### EDWARD DE VERE, 17TH EARL OF OXFORD

Another who disbelieved the Stratfordian authorship was an English schoolteacher with the unfortunate name of J. Thomas Looney. His name has not helped his theory. He had no preconceived notions, except that the identity of the author was deliberately concealed, and the name Shakespeare a pseudonym. He decided to look for early works of the author, convinced the Shakespeare works were his mature writings.

He was struck with the form of the six line pentameter stanzas in *Venus and Adonis*, the earliest Shakespeare writing, "the first heir of my invention". He looked for this form in other 16th-century verse. He found it in the poetry of Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford, whose name he had not previously noted. Oxford's dates were 1550 to 1604, so that he was about 40, the right age, when the Shakespeare works began to appear. Reading all this poet's works, Looney found the form of stanza he had noted was common in de Vere's poetry and in Shakespeare, but almost nowhere else in contemporary English verse. As he studied de Vere's life he became convinced, and published his book, *Shakespeare Identified*, in 1920. Others later supplemented his research, notably Dorothy and Charlton Ogburn, the latter a lawyer, in a voluminous work in 1952, entitled *This Star of England*.

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\* *The Poacher from Stratford*, by Frank W. Wadsworth (1958).

The following is a résumé of what they found.

Edward de Vere was trained by his father in riding, hunting, falconry and jousting, but his father died when he was 12, and the boy then inherited the title as the 17th Earl of Oxford. His coat-of-arms bore a lion shaking a spear. As the ranking peer of England he also took the hereditary title of Lord Great Chamberlain, an office close to the Queen's person. His mother shortly remarried, and Queen Elizabeth as his guardian placed him in the household of William Cecil, the Lord Treasurer, and virtual Prime Minister. There he was tutored by his uncle, the scholar, Arthur Golding, in French, Latin and Greek, the classics and poetry. Under Golding's tutelage he made translations of Ovid, one of the main sources drawn from in Shakespeare. Golding at this time was preparing his principal work, the first English translation of Ovid, which the scholars tell us was the translation used by Shakespeare.

Oxford was graduated from Cambridge University at 14 and took his master's degree from Oxford University at 16, followed by three years' law study at Gray's Inn. There he wrote, produced and acted in plays and masques.

He entered the Queen's service at Court and continued to write and produce poetry and plays to entertain the Queen, who spoke six languages and had a deep interest in literature and the classics. He also distinguished himself in tournaments and became known at Court as the "Spear-shaker". He was sometimes called "Will", a sort of pun on a translation of the name, Vere.

Although the Queen, then 40, was 17 years older, she "wooed the Earl of Oxford", as reported in state papers, and they had a love affair over several years. (The incredulous are reminded that about 15 years later she had a love affair with the Earl of Essex, and she was 34 years older than Essex.)

Oxford became restive at the idle life at Court, but the Queen denied his request to enter the military or naval service. To keep him at Court she approved his marriage to Anne Cecil, the Lord Treasurer's daughter, then 15. She made Cecil Lord Burghley, to give his daughter adequate rank. Burghley was shrewd. He had Oxford make over to him one of his principal estates and kept a hand in the management of the others. The marriage was



1550	1560	1570	1580	1590	1600	1610	1620
Reign of EDWARD VI 1547- 1553	Reign of QUEEN ELIZABETH 1558-1603				Reign of JAMES I 1603-1625		
Reign of MARY I 1553- 1558	1586 Trial of Mary Queen Armada of Scots				1601 Trial of Essex		
WILLIAM SHAKSPER, of Stratford							1564-1616
FRANCIS BACON, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Alban							1561-1626
CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE							1564-1593
EDWARD DE VERE, Earl of Oxford							1550-1604
1593 to 1604 Poems and thirteen plays published. (Venus & Adonis —1593 to Hamlet (2d Ed.) 1604)							1608 1609 1622 Sonnets and three plays published.
							1623 Twenty plays first published.

unhappy. Anne was dominated by her parents who disapproved of Oxford's literary activities, not then considered respectable even for one not a peer.

Oxford travelled in Europe, especially Italy, visiting the places where scenes were later laid in the Shakespeare plays. The famous seven ages of man, as described by Jaques in *As You Like It*, are portrayed with striking similarity in an allegorical mosaic in the pavement of the cathedral at Siena, where Oxford sojourned in 1575.\* He kept writing Burghley to send him more money, and to sell his lands for the purpose. Burghley had spies constantly watching him.

When Oxford reached the French Court, he learned his wife had given birth to a daughter. An ugly rumour reported it occurred 11, and not 9, months after he left England. He rushed back and refused to speak to his wife or Burghley when he landed.

Oxford kept rooms in London where he encouraged younger writers such as Lyly, Kyd, Marlowe, Munday, Nashe, Dekker, etc., and he helped them financially. He had his own troupe of actors, known as "Oxford's Boys". Henry Wriothesley, the Earl of Southampton, was one of this group. Oxford wrote plays for them and this troupe came to occupy a leading place in the dramatic world. Oxford became impoverished in this venture. The Queen had promised to finance it, but did not keep her promise until later.

In 1578, Oxford was the chief dramatist of a pageant for the Queen at Cambridge. The poet, Gabriel Harvey, hailed Oxford both as a poet and as a tournament hero. He said of him, "thine eyes flash fire, thy countenance shakes spears".

Oxford became hopelessly infatuated with a wanton, dark-eyed and dark-haired maid of honour of the Queen, a "dark lady", named Anne Vavasor. This passionate attachment resulted in the birth of a child, and the Queen, a woman scorned, had them both imprisoned in the Tower in 1581. Oxford was released after 41 days, but was banished from Court for two years.

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\* *Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford and Shakespeare*, by William Kittle (1942).

The lands of Oxford were constantly being sold to pay debts. His personal fortune dwindled under Burghley's management, while the crafty Burghley himself became wealthy. Most of the records about Oxford are from Burghley's papers. They contain self-serving statements to indicate he was helping Oxford, but everything derogatory about Burghley, or favourable about Oxford, was apparently carefully destroyed.

In 1586, Oxford sat on the Court that tried Mary Queen of Scots. The same year Queen Elizabeth made him a grant of the modern equivalent of \$40,000 a year, probably to fulfil her earlier promise to help finance the theatre. The Shakespeare historical plays made the theatre a patriotic rallying ground, as the Spanish Armada threatened. In 1588 Oxford commanded a ship against the Armada. While he was at sea, his wife died.

Three years later, Oxford remarried. His second wife, Elizabeth Trentham, was well-to-do. They lived in London near the theatre where plays later published as Shakespeare's were produced. His only son was born in 1593 and was named Henry.

In 1601, Oxford was one of the 25 peers who composed the Court that tried Essex for his rebellion. Implicated also was Henry Wriothesley, the Earl of Southampton. Both were convicted. Essex was executed, but Southampton's sentence was commuted and he was imprisoned for two years until Queen Elizabeth's death in 1603.

Oxford was one of six peers who bore the canopy at Elizabeth's funeral, as he had borne her canopy at the Armada victory celebration. In the 125th Shakespeare sonnet is the line "Were't ought to me I bore the canopy?"

Oxford died June 24, 1604. King James caused eight Shakespeare plays to be produced at Court as a tribute to him. When Oxford's widow died nine years later, 14 of the plays were produced at Court in tribute.

All the facts of Oxford's life are consistent with his having been the author of the Shakespeare works, and none is inconsistent. Every important fact, including familiarity with the law, which the works themselves, without other evidence, indicate must have been true of Shakespeare *was* true of Oxford. His writings were praised by his contemporaries, including the

great poet Edmund Spenser. In a dedicatory Sonnet to Oxford, published in the *Faerie Queene* in 1590, Spenser hailed him as one "most deare" to the Muses.

Although passages in two or three of the plays are assumed by some scholars to refer to events occurring after 1604, the principal question about Oxford, if he wrote the Shakespeare works, is his anonymity. The Oxfordian argument on this point is as follows: The autobiographical sonnets refer to disgrace and loss of the author's good name. But more cogent reasons appear. An unwritten code forbade the publication during their lives of poetry written by the nobility. Furthermore, the law prohibited the portrayal on the stage of living persons. Prominent public characters, the intimate details of the lives of royalty, the foibles and sins of those at Court, and current political events and affairs of State, all thinly veiled, form a major part of the subject matter. These could be regarded as pure imagination if written by an outsider. But when written by one in Oxford's position at Court, they would take on reality and have repercussions upon the throne itself. In spite of her love of literature, the Queen could not ignore this hazard, although her favourite courtier could be spared punishment. We are told that at Burghley's instigation she herself enjoined anonymity upon Oxford as the price of his freedom to write as he chose. In his devotion to her he accepted these terms.

But the sonnets show the author chafed unhappily at his enforced anonymity. However, the pseudonym may be revealing, and perhaps there is a name-clue in one sonnet in the words "My name is Will." We know "Spear-shaker" and "Will" were Court nicknames for Oxford.

The argument is that Shaksper of Stratford took advantage of the official conspiracy of silence about Oxford's authorship, and used the resemblance of his name to insinuate his own authorship, which Oxford was powerless to deny. Later through Henry Wriothesley, the Stratford man was used as a blind. Southampton's payment to him for this service was the mysterious source of Shaksper's wealth. The two years Southampton was in prison were almost the only ones during which no publication of the Shakespeare works appeared, from the first poem published in 1593 until Oxford's death in 1604.



That year *Hamlet* was completed in the second quarto, generally considered the last, best, and most autobiographical play. Oxford had a cousin, Horatio de Vere, thought to be the Horatio of the play. In his dying speech Hamlet says,

O good Horatio, what a wounded name,  
Things standing thus unknown, shall live behind me !  
If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,  
Absent thee from felicity a while,  
And in this harsh world, draw thy breath in pain  
To tell my story . . . The rest is silence.

On Oxford's death publication of the Shakespeare plays stopped, and except for three plays and the sonnets, no more were published until 19 years later when 20 plays were published for the first time in the First Folio.

After Oxford's death, Burghley's son, Robert Cecil, Francis Bacon and Ben Jonson are believed to have persuaded the Earl of Pembroke and his brother, Oxford's son-in-law, the Earl of Montgomery, and also Oxford's son, the 18th Earl, to preserve the anonymity. The Earl of Pembroke paid Ben Jonson the modern equivalent of \$8,000 a year to supervise the posthumous publication under the pseudonym and to write the introductory poem for the First Folio, as having been personally acquainted with Shakespeare. The Folio was dedicated to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery.

Ben Jonson's apostrophe to the "Sweet Swan of Avon" in the First Folio is claimed as an eulogy of Oxford, who owned three estates on the river Avon. One of them, Bilton-on-Avon, was but a few miles from Stratford, on the other side of the forest of Arden.

There is further evidence. In 1940 X-ray and infra-red examinations of several portraits of Shakespeare showed them to be alterations of portraits of Lord Oxford. So examined the Ashbourne portrait of Shakespeare in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington revealed underneath a portrait of Oxford in Court dress by the Dutch painter Cornelius Ketel, the Trentham coat-of-arms in one corner was painted out, the face was altered and the hair changed to a bald head. A neck-piece such as was worn by commoners was painted over the lace ruff of the nobility bearing the Tudor rose. And Oxford's wild boar crest is partly discernible on a signet ring on the left thumb.

This is the gist of the Oxfordian argument, which is copiously supplemented in the books with supporting quotations from the Shakespeare works.

Sigmund Freud, who never took anything for granted, except sex, said

I no longer believe that . . . the man from Stratford was the author of the works that have been ascribed to him. . . . I am almost convinced that the assumed name concealed the personality of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

Now, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, you have been given an all-too-condensed summation of the evidence. It is for you to determine the answers to the two questions put to you at the outset : Was Shakespeare the same man as Shaksper, and if not, who was he ? Was the author William Shaksper ; Francis Bacon ; Christopher Marlowe ; Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford ; or someone else ? In other words, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, " Who-dunit " ?

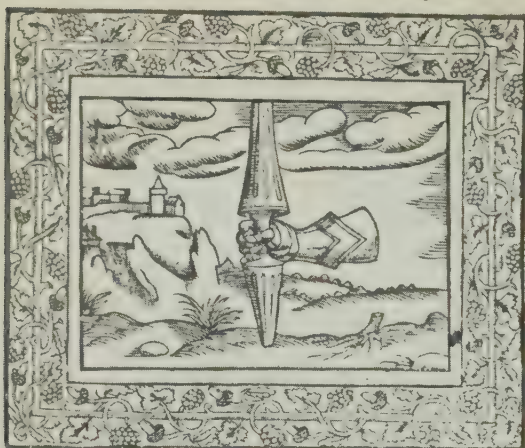
You may now retire and consider your verdict.

FRONTISPIECE TO DR. SPRAT'S *History of the Royal Society* (1667)



(N.B. Note the suggestion of masonic apron and insignia on the side of Lord Bacon)

TO the most Honorable Lord, the L: Dingwell.



Hagnis Capiti  
Symbolum.

WHO thirsteth after Honor, and renowne,  
By valiant act, or lasting worke of wit:  
In vaine he doth expect, her glorious crowne,  
Except by labor, he archeiveth it;  
And sicke brow, for never merit may,  
To drousic sloath, impart her living bay.

\* primus fump-  
tū laboris.  
\* primus inter fump-  
tū pedes. Sili.

\* Iple manu sua  
pila peris, paze  
disanthea muscu  
orapedes mōlūac  
colicare labori  
rui, non ruber.  
Lucan de Caro-  
ne.

Mundū ex mulie-  
ribus laborem vi-  
ris convenire.  
Marmas apud Sa-  
lutiū.

Virgil AEneid: 2

\* *HAMILCARS* sonne, hence shall thy glory live,  
Who ore the Alpes, didst foremost lead the way,  
With Cæsars eeke, that would the onfet give,  
\* And first on foote, the deepest foor, ds asslay:  
\*\* Let Carpet Knights, of Ladies favours boast,  
\*\* The manly hart, brave Action loveth most.

*Disce puer virtutem ex me verumq. Laborem  
Forturam ex aliis: nunc te mea dextera bello  
Defensum dabit, et magna inter premia ducet.*

En

The juxtaposition of these two emblems is striking; so, too, is the title-page (see p. 22). The superscription "The work becomes the man" and the border design of acorn and grape suggest a Rosicrucian origin. As to the Lord Dingwell—if it means the gentleman of the bedchamber created Lord Dingwall by James I—then he was certainly no shaker of the spear, but a mere cipher.



*Ex malis moribus bonæ leges.*

34

To the most iudicious, and learned, Sir FRANCIS BACON, Knight.



**T**HE Viper here, that stung the sheeheard swaine,  
(While careles of himselfe alleepe he lay,)  
With Hysope caught, is cut by him in twaine,  
Her fat might take, the poison quite away,  
And heale his wound, that wonder tis to see,  
Such soveraigne helpe, should in a Serpent be.

By this same Leach, is meant the virtuous King,  
Who can with cunning, out of manners ill,  
Make whole some lawes, \* and take away the sting,  
Wherewith foule vice, doth greene the virtuous still:  
Or can prevent, by quicke and wise foresight,  
Infection ere, it gathers further might.

*Afra venenato pupugit spem viperæ mortu,  
Dux Gregis anxiosum latus ab hoste perit:  
Vipercis itatem leges ex moribus aptas  
Doctus Apollinea conficit arte SOLON.*

*vitia quæ plurima menti  
Femine natura dedit humanæ malignas*

*Cura dedit leges, et quod natura remittit  
Istius iura negant &c.*

*\* virorum emen-  
dationem legem  
esse oportet Cic.  
1. de legibus.*

*Salus Civitatis in  
legibus. Arist.*

*Ovid Metamor.  
lib 10.*

Gr.

TO

Sir Francis Bacon is shown dividing the serpent in twain, and facing the shaker of the spear. The superscription "Good laws from bad customs" is appropriate, and the border design of rose and thistle suggests Bacon's untiring efforts (outwardly and *sub rosa*) to bring about the Union of England and Scotland.



This Shadowe is renowned Shakespear's: Soule of th' age  
 The applause: delight: the wonder of the Stage:  
 Nature her selfe, was proud of his designs:  
 And joy'd to weare the dressing of his lines:  
 The learned will Confesse, his works are such,  
 As neither man, nor Muse, can praise to much.  
 For ever live thy fame, the world to tell,  
 Thy like, no age, shall ever paralell.

W. H. July 12

# FRANCIS BACON AND THE KNIGHTS OF THE HELMET

By M.P.

One of these men is genius to the other  
And so of these, which is the natural man  
And which the spirit ? Who deciphers them ?

(*A Comedy of Errors*)

CONTROVERSY over the Shakespearian authorship is not new ; it has existed ever since the first Folio was printed in 1623. That remarkable book, with its important new plays and its many revisions of existing ones, was not published until seven years after Will Shaksper's death, but while Bacon was still living. Its Editors claimed to supply a complete collection, " All the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them ". But in so doing they rejected many plays which had already been published under the pen-name " Shakespeare " during the actor's life. If William did not write these, someone else did ; so the grounds for dispute have existed from the beginning.

The unity of the Shakespearian drama has again been questioned in more recent years. The single authorship of *Titus Andronicus* or of the *Taming of the Shrew* has been rejected by Swinburne. Experts have declared that the second and third parts of *King Henry VI* were largely written by Marlowe. The last Act of *Troilus and Cressida* has been attributed to Dekker, and a portion of *Macbeth* has been attributed to Milton. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is said to have been the work of a " botcher ", and Sir Sidney Lee has attributed one of the most striking scenes in *Macbeth* to a " hack of the theatre ". He suggested also that the third and fifth Acts of *Timon of Athens* were the work of a collaborator, and he divides *Henry VIII* into two parts, one by Shakespeare and the other by Fletcher. The early *Hamlet* (mentioned by Nash in 1589) has been attributed to Kyd, and the *King John*, published in 1590, has been dismissed as an " old play by an unknown writer ".

The Shakespearian unity is less of a problem to Baconians, firstly because the possibility of a group led by Francis Bacon is admitted. Secondly because we believe in a process whereby an author, in the maturity of his genius may be expected to revise the productions of his youth. This, we believe, was Shake-speare's way, as it was certainly Bacon's way. Our controversy, then, turns upon the right interpretation of a name or pseudonym. Stratfordians, in order to bring the Plays and their reputed author into strict accord, have found it necessary to make him a scholar, a philosopher, a politician, a courtier, a lawyer, an amateur physician, and at the same time a player, a small trader, a moneylender, and a hard-fisted business man out for profit. Baconians can dispense with the last four avocations, along with the Stratford man, and can submit much stronger evidence in favour of the others.

Marlowe died in 1593, Oxford in 1603 and Shaksper in 1616. But the 1623 Folio introduced 19 new plays published for the first time. Some of them had been previously registered ; some had been acted ; but this was their first appearance in print. No manuscripts have yet been discovered ; so this important book is the sole textual authority for more than half the Shakespearian Plays, and the final textual authority for the 17 Plays which had been printed before. These latter, in the Folio, were either re-written, extensively revised, or subjected to verbal alterations of a most fastidious kind, revealing the author's hand on almost every page. It is therefore my contention that this author must have been alive in 1623.

The 19 newly printed plays and the priceless Folio additions to the earlier plays are not to be dismissed merely as an editorial undertaking. They include some of the finest passages in Shakespeare ; the opening chorus to *Henry V*, and the prologue to *Troilus and Cressida* are among them. It seems as if certain chosen passages, together with whole new plays like *The Tempest*, *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, *Coriolanus*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Measure for Measure*, *Timon of Athens*, *Henry VIII*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale*, had been deliberately withheld from publication, and saved up by the author for his grand finale.



This gradual and methodical evolution and perfection of the Shakespearian text continued while Bacon was still living, and when the others were dead.

It may be helpful at this point to look at the time-chart (page 59) showing the birth and death dates of the various rival claimants. It will be seen at a glance that only Francis Bacon had the privilege of seeing the first Folio in print. His absolute silence about it—considering his known interest in drama—is so strange as to be significant.

Ben Jonson must have been privy to all this. While writing the Folio preliminaries—apparently with his tongue in his cheek—he was working at Gorhambury with Francis Bacon on the final Latin edition of the *Advancement of Learning*, which was published in the same year.\*

Now, although the Folio plays are official, and accepted as the final authority, it should be remembered that the earlier quarto editions, with their exquisite title-pages, have a tale of their own to tell. Often they preserve a valuable alternative reading where the author could not incorporate both : they show where he must have wavered between two happy thoughts. Sometimes the quartos allow us to see a famous character in process of being written up. Falstaff, for instance, is at first hardly more than a walking-on part ; but in *Henry IV* he becomes a major stage creation. It is from these early quartos that we begin to follow the trajectory of a mighty mind, and the working out of a life-long altruistic purpose to “ procure the good of all men ”. Through the quartos we can see the long and arduous progress from rough and ready play-house script to the grandeur of the Folio—that mirror of men and nations through the successive ages of our civilization.

Take the play *Othello*, first printed in quarto in 1622, six years after Shakespeare's death. The very next year, in the Folio, it was completely revised with 160 new lines, 70 lines deleted, and with trifling verbal alterations throughout. Many of these alterations involve a re-arrangement of the lines which has been accomplished with no little skill. Surely no one less than the author himself could have devised such manipulations.

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\* *Baconiana* (1679), p. 89.

## WILL SHAKSPER OF STRATFORD

The claim that the Stratford legend is well-documented is a two-edged sword. In some ways the actor's uninspiring life story is too well documented. The truth is that the "documented" allusions to Shakespeare fall into two distinct categories, and need to be classified accordingly. Concrete allusions to the family affairs and business activities of the actor and money-lender are quite distinct from the more fanciful allusions to the writer of the drama. Having assumed that Will Shaksper wrote the Plays, the orthodox infer—against all the evidence—that the actor was the kind of man which the Plays themselves show that the author must have been. But the inference is necessitated only by the assumption. To claim all the eulogies intended for the author of the plays as being intended for Will Shaksper of Stratford is, clearly, to beg the whole question of the author's identity.

Shakespearian orthodoxy has become a secular creed ; the wildest statements are often made in support of it and the most dubious and counterfeit relics are accepted and worshipped by the credulous. The same historical inaccuracy is employed to denounce a rival theory. It is said, with great ignorance, that Francis Bacon had no interest in the theatre ; yet we find him writing masques and revels at Gray's Inn, organizing them in middle life, writing a profound study on the ethics of the theatre, the uses and abuses of " stage-plays ", and commending the acting profession as a form of personal training. It is also alleged, with tedious repetition, that Bacon possessed no poetical gifts. Yet Ben Jonson compared him to Homer and Virgil, and Shelley regarded him not only as a poet, but as the greatest philosopher-poet since Plato.\*

It is unfortunate that Will Shaksper seems not to have corresponded with anyone. He is not, of course, the only Elizabethan dramatist of whom this can be said, but one would have expected a great writer, who had possessed himself of the highest culture of the age in which he lived, to have taken some interest in contemporary affairs and in other great writers. Most of the writers

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\* Preface to the translation of *The Banquet*, P. B. Shelley, *Defence of Poetry*, P. B. Shelley.

and dramatists of that day were University men. Spenser, Watson, Harvey, Bacon, Marlowe, Nash and Greene went to Cambridge. Lyly, Lodge, Peele, Bodley and others went to Oxford. Ben Jonson was educated at Westminster School ; Lord Oxford had private tutors and later studied at Gray's Inn.

The internal evidence of the plays indicates strongly that the author was a Cambridge man. Titus Andronicus, Falstaff and even King Lear, are among the characters who freely and unconsciously lapse into the idiom of that University. The author of *Polimanteia* (1595) pays an unmistakable tribute to the classical scholarship of "Shakespeare" as an *alumnus* of Cambridge.\* But William left no record at any University or school and no record of private tuition, these deficiencies being glibly explained by the word "genius". But genius and knowledge are two distinct things, and the author of the Plays had both. In the words of Samuel Johnson :

"Nature gives no man knowledge. . . . Shakespeare, however favoured by Nature, could only impart what he had learned."

#### FRANCIS BACON

The case against Shakespearian orthodoxy has been so well handled by Richard Bentley in the *Journal of the American Bar Association* (reprinted pp. 43-64) that I cannot do better than refer my readers to this article for all existing evidence regarding the life of the Stratford man. Evidence as to his supposed literacy or education—as distinct from that of the bard whose identity is called in question—is conspicuous by its absence. What evidence we have clearly points the other way ; so that we can hardly blame William for the trivial and peevish nature of his will. But let us banish these *Idols of the Theatre* so significantly defined in the *Novum Organum*, and consider the evidence for Francis Bacon. Let us forget the odour of the famous "second-best bed" and take our tone from a sentence in a very different testament :—

"For my name and memory, I leave it to foreign nations,  
and to mine own countrymen after some time be passed over."

These words in Francis Bacon's draft will—expressly withholding from his countrymen the care of his name and the

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\* *Baconiana* 132. See article by Stewart Robb.

charge of his life's work—have always struck me as peculiar. They speak across the centuries with a sense of injustice, of misunderstanding and of personal sacrifice. In 1679, Archbishop Tenison wrote as follows :—\*

“ Those who have true skill in the Works of the Lord Verulam . . . can tell by the Design, the Strength, the way of colouring, whether he was the Author of this or the other Piece, though his name be not to it.”

If we can accept the evidence of Peacham's *Minerva Britannia* (1612) one of Bacon's mottoes was “ *Mente Videbor* ”—“ By the mind I shall be seen ” (see p. 22). His declared object was to parallel his philosophical work with a new method of teaching which would, as he expressed it, make men in love with the lessons and not with the teacher.† This suggests some form of dramatic teaching as practised by the ancients in the days of the Mysteries. But it could not be accomplished except through the medium of a modern language. The great statesman, Bismarck, when asked what he thought was the most important political factor of his own day, replied without hesitation “ the fact that the North American continent speaks the English language ”. His insight was deep. Language, and the command of it, has become the modern instrument of power. The original construction of that great instrument the English language, and the planting of it in North America were the two essential parts of one great enterprise. Engaged in this work was a group of talented men of action and men of letters. Who stood behind this group, and who was its chief ?

It is a matter of history that Francis Bacon, the most far-sighted statesman of his day, was the moving spirit in promoting the Act of Union between England and Scotland. It is not so well known that he was the moving spirit in projecting a greater union of English-speaking peoples, that he was on the Council of the first Virginia Company, and that two of his colleagues on that Council were the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery—that “ Incomparable Paire of Brethren ” to whom the First Shake-Speare Folio was dedicated. It was their money that was at risk when the first expedition set sail from these shores

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\* *Baconiana or Certain Genuine Remains*, London, (1679).

† *Advancement of Learning*—Book 1.



and, later, when the first appointed Governor, Sir George Somers, was wrecked on the Bermudas giving us our first Crown Colony, and adding *The Tempest* to our literature.

There are periods in the earlier life of Francis Bacon for which even Spedding is at a loss to account. There were periods of travel abroad in Europe, and periods spent at Gray's Inn without practising the law. At Gray's Inn, too, there were the Knights of the Helmet. It was during that time that the English language was in process of being forged under such names as Spenser, Marlowe and Shake-Speare; legendary writers who could breathe new life into old words, manufacture new words, multiplying the vocabulary of our language many times. It was during the latter part of Bacon's life, and during his rise to political power, that this newly augmented language was deliberately transplanted across the Atlantic.

There is no doubt that the first permanent English settlements in North America and the annexation of the Bermudas had a far-reaching effect on the future cultural development of the New World. The Newfoundland postage stamp of 1910, commemorating the tercentenary of the Colony, carried Lord Bacon's head and the words "The Guiding Spirit of the Colonisation Scheme". The first Bermudan coinage, known as the hog money, carried Bacon's crest on one side and a picture of a ship under full sail—probably the *Sea Venture*—on the reverse. According to records in the British Museum, this coinage was regarded unfavourably by King James and was forbidden to be exported".\*

In the Colonial State Calendar there is an extract of a patent "To Henry Earl of Northampton, Sir Francis Bacon and others" for the colony in Newfoundland; and mention is also made of a letter from Captain John Smith to Lord Bacon enclosing a description of New England. In the possession of the present Earl of Verulam there is an interesting screen made of most beautiful, late 16th century, coloured glass, hand-painted and fired. Part of the screen illustrates scenes from the New World†. The glass itself originally came from a gallery

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\* *America's assignment with Destiny*—Manly Palmer Hall.

† North and Central America and Africa and the East.

which was built in honour of Queen Elizabeth I by Sir Nicholas Bacon ; but from the date of the glass, it seems that the windows were installed after his death. Francis Bacon was evidently interested, and not a little amused in the tales of seafaring men and travellers; for depicted in this screen are Indians in feathers and monsters too, surely the inspiration for a Caliban.

Bacon's association with the Virginia Company is well established by an original manuscript in the British Museum. It was written by William Strachey, first Secretary of the Colony, and afterwards printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1849 ; it is entitled *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*. Dedicated to The Rt. Hon. Sir Francis Bacon, Kt., Baron of Verulam, Lord High Chancellor of England, it begins as follows :—

Your Lordship ever approving yourself of the most noble fautor of the Virginia Company, being *from the beginning* (with other Lords and Earles) of the principal Council applied to propagate and guide yt. . . .

William Strachey's narrative, based on the wreck of the *Sea Venture*, was not published until 1625 when it was included in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*.\* *The Tempest*, as we have seen, was not published until seven years after Will Shaksper's death, when it appeared in the First Folio of 1623. If William wrote *The Tempest* he must, according to the British Museum authorities, have had access to Strachey's narrative in manuscript form. The Earl of Oxford who died in 1604—and who might conceivably have been associated with the earlier plays—could have had no hand in *The Tempest*. On the other hand Francis Bacon, as a founder-member of the Virginia Company, would certainly have had the information ; why not the inspiration ?

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Many of the arguments in favour of the Oxfordian theory can be shown to be equally applicable to Francis Bacon. Both were courtiers ; both had studied at Gray's Inn, both had travelled

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\* *Baconiana* 158, *Of Plantations*, by Noel Fermor.

abroad, and both displayed a device with a Boar. The need for anonymity was the same ; both had some experience of theatrical production and a taste for masques and revels ; both were inclined to spend their money rather lavishly.

The testimony of the sonnets, though sometimes applicable to either, is on the whole more applicable to Bacon. The line "Wer't ought for me I bore the canopy" in Sonnet 125 might just as well be applied to him as to Oxford. Indeed, the whole tenor of the Sonnet suggests that it was written at about the time of Bacon's fall. The line "And take thou my oblation poor but free" is a repetition of Bacon's plea in a letter to King James. "Suborned informer" could refer to Churchill or Cranfield.

The peculiar wording of many of the sonnets may well be applied to Bacon. Compare the line from Sonnet 76 "And keep invention in a noted *weed*" with Bacon's line, "I have though in a despised *weed*, procured the good of all men". This would seem to suggest that the "despised weed" of Bacon and the "noted weed" of Shakespeare both signified the same thing, namely, the motley coat of Jacques.

The Cecils, father and son were related by marriage to both Oxford and Bacon. The burlesque of the elder Cecil as Polonius might have been done by either. It is not impossible that Bacon and Oxford were both members of the same secret circle, or that Oxford when at Gray's Inn was also a Knight of the Helmet. But he died in 1604 when 20 plays were still to appear, and when most of the others were still to be revised and augmented. Oxford could have had no hand in this, but there are strong indications that Bacon did. Here is one which, in my opinion, is unanswerable. In the 1604 *Hamlet* quarto there appears this line :—

". . . Sense sure you have  
Else you could not have motion."

This ancient doctrine—that everything which has motion must have sense—is also upheld by Bacon in the 1605 *Advancement of Learning* ; but in the 1623 *De Augmentis* he renounced it. So, in the same year, did the author of the Shakespeare plays—supposedly in his grave since 1616 ; the *Hamlet* quartos of

1604, 1605 and 1611 all preserve this notion ; but in the Folio *Hamlet* of 1623, it is dropped.

Again, in the 1604 *Hamlet* the author supports the popular belief in the moon's influence on the tides. Bacon also held this view in 1594 and, for all we know, in 1604, and so, too, all the subsequent quarto editions of *Hamlet* continue to echo it. But in 1616, in his *De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris*, Bacon withdrew his support of this view and, once again, the ubiquitous author of the Shakespeare plays dropped it from the Folio version of *Hamlet*.\*

If you wish to check this interesting point, make certain your Shakespeare gives you the "folio" and not the 1604 "quarto" version of *Hamlet*. The latter is more often reprinted, since it is more discursive and the aim of most editors is to conserve as much as possible. But the cuts made in the Folio *Hamlet* are improvements from the dramatic point of view ; and they also represent the author's final verdict on his own work.

These thoughtful revisions of the Shakespearean text were not always a dramatic improvement, nor always a credit from the scientific point of view ; but they do show a care for exactness in writing, and a careful integration of what was said in both works. Between 1597 and 1623, Bacon's own writings were constantly under revision ; even the famous *Essays* went through several stages. It is significant that the Shakespearean plays went through a similar metamorphosis during the same period.

#### SCIENCE AND MAGIC

The greatest repository of Bacon's scientific notions is the *Sylva Sylvarum*. This seems to be the sweepings of his notebooks of a lifetime, and it is curious that some of the quaintest of his theories reappear, almost in the same words, in the Shakespearean drama. The *Sylva Sylvarum* is in many ways a forest rather than a garden, but it is a forest which is flecked here and there with a strange and fleeting beauty. Who but a poet, for example, would have introduced such an image as this into a scientific speculation ?

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\* *Parallelisms*, by Edwin Reed (1902).



. . . the division and quavering which please so much in music have an agreement with the glittering of light, as the Moon-beams playing upon a wave.

Generally speaking, Bacon's scientific observations—especially those on flowers and horticulture—are not only beautifully expressed, but technically interesting. Some of his speculations were centuries ahead of his time, as for instance the real nature of heat, while others were positively archaic. One of the quaintest of these is his theory of "Spirits enclosed in tangible bodies". Now it so happens that the Shakespearian drama is also pervaded with these strange "spirits" and here are one or two examples of the many which have been given by Judge Webb :—

1. Bacon tells us that "soft singing" and the sound of falling waters, and the hum of bees, are conducive to sleep ; and the cause is : "for that they move in the spirits a gentle attention".

In *The Merchant of Venice*, when Jessica remarks, "I am never merry when I hear sweet music", Lorenzo replies, somewhat inconsequently, "The reason is, your spirits are attentive".

2. In his *Experiments in Consort Touching Venus*, Bacon attributes the ill-effects of excess in "the use of Venus" to the "expense of spirits" by which it is attended.

In the *Sonnets*, Shakespeare declares that "the expense of spirits in a waste of shame is lust in action".

3. Bacon tells us that the outward manifestations of the passions are "the effects of the dilation and coming forth of the spirits into the outward parts".

In *Troilus and Cressida*, when Ulysses beholds the heroine for the first time, he remarks "Her wanton spirits look out at every joint and motive of her body".

4. As an example of the fascination which one man may exert over another, Bacon relates the story of "an Egyptian Soothsayer that made Antonius believe that his genius, which otherwise was brave and confident, was in the presence of Octavius Caesar, "poore and cowardly" and who therefore "advised him to remove from him".

In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Bacon's Egyptian Soothsayer is brought bodily upon the stage in Shakespeare's lines :—

Therefore, O Antony, stay not by his side !  
 Thy demon, that's thy spirit that keeps thee, is  
 Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable,  
 Where Caesar's is not, but near him thy Angel  
 Becomes a Fear as being overpower'd ; therefore  
*Make space enough between you !*

In examining these parallels, it is important to note that very often the physical or scientific fact noted down by Bacon is abstracted and raised to illustrate a mental or moral analogy in Shakespeare. The following examples may serve to show us this :—

5. In the " Interpretation of Nature " Bacon tells us that " Some few grains of *saffron* will give a tincture to a ton of water ". And in *All's Well that Ends Well* Lafeu—raising this analogy from the physical to the abstract—exclaims " Whose villainous *saffron* would have made all the unbaked and doughy *youth* of a nation in his colour ".

6. In the Essex Device (1595) Bacon tells us that " There is no *prison* to the *prison of the thoughts*". And Hamlet, in speaking of Denmark as a " *prison* ", and on Rosencrantz replying " We *think* not so, my Lord ", exclaims " Why then 'tis none to you ; for there is nothing either good or bad but *thinking* makes it so ; to me it is a *prison*."

7. Bacon, in the *Sylva Sylvarum* (S.441) tells us that " Shade to some plants conduceth to make them large and prosperous more than Sun " ; and that, accordingly, if you sow borage among strawberries " you shall find the strawberries under those leaves far more large than their fellows ".

In *Henry V*, Act 1, the Bishop of Ely, using this strange analogy, expounds on the large and luxuriant development of the Prince's nature on his emerging from the shade of low company :—

The strawberry grows underneath the nettle,  
 And wholesome berries thrive and ripen best  
 Neighbour'd by fruit of baser quality  
 And so the Prince . . ."

“ This writing of our *Sylva Sylvarum* ”, says Bacon, “ is . . . not natural history but a high kind of natural magic ”. Indeed, this pre-occupation of both Bacon and Shakespeare with experiments in botany and with “ great creating nature ” could lead us to questions far beyond the scope of this article. Nearly three centuries before Darwin was to expound his theories, Bacon was suggesting experiments for changing the plumage and colouring of pigeons and the transmutation of species. It seems that the writer of the Shakespearian drama possessed the same scientific, or perhaps we should say “ magical ” imagination as Bacon and Darwin.

BEN JONSON

There was one famous contemporary of Lord Bacon, a great and original writer himself, a man of moods and satire, seldom given to lavish praise of others, who acknowledged Bacon to be his “ chief ”. This man was Benjamin Jonson. If ever there was a man of genius, full of surprises, it was Ben. He combined the strangest mixture of coarseness and delicacy. The son of a minister, he was first educated at Westminster School under Mr. Camden and, later in life, at Trinity, Cambridge. As a private soldier in the Low Countries he challenged and killed with his own hands a champion from the enemy camp ; later he killed a fellow actor in a duel. He drank heavily at times, and it is not impossible that Will Shaksper’s decease—after that famous “ merry meeting ”—was the end of a similar feud. And yet Ben Jonson could write, not only in Latin, not only ribald plays, but some of the loveliest lyrics such as the extravagant “ Drink to me only with thine eyes ”. We have already noted what this man—in whom the fire burned if he could not speak his mind—had to say about his “ Chief ”, Francis Bacon, preferring him to Homer or Virgil.\* We must now consider a peculiar and prolonged chain of insulting references to the Stratford man, coupled with praise for the writer of the Shakespearian plays, which is only intelligible on the assumption that these were two distinct personalities. Well may we ask

. . . . . which is the natural man  
And which the spirit ? Who deciphers them ?

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\* *Baconiana* 160. *The City and the Temple*.

Ben seems to have begun his series of disparaging remarks in 1598, or thereabouts, and closed them shortly after Shaksper's death in 1616, with the famous "poet-ape" epigram. In 1618, if not before, he became closely acquainted with Bacon, and by 1620 he was living with him at Gorhambury as one of the "good pens that forsake me not". Probably it was then that he really became attracted by that great, magnetic character; though he may well have guessed the secret of the Shakespearian drama long before. However his early contemptuous tone now undergoes a remarkable change; so let us close our examination of this witness by asking him to tabulate his first insulting remarks about the actor, his later official praise of the "author" and, finally, his personal tribute to Bacon.

1598 He degrades the stage. He is ignorant of the ordinary rules of dramatisation.

1601 He barbarizes the English language, and brings all arts and learning into contempt. He wags an asses ears. He is an ape.

1614 His tales are but drolleries. He mixes his head with other men's heels.

1616 He is a poet-ape, an upstart, a hypocrite and a thief. His works are but the frippery of wit.

(N.B.—Shakespeare dies this year.)

1619 He wanted art and sometimes sense!

(N.B.—In 1620 Ben Jonson is more intimate with Francis Bacon; wrote a laudatory poem on the occasion of his 60th birthday; becomes one of Bacon's "good pens that forsake me not".)

1623 Praises the Author of the Shakespeare Folio comparing him favourably with Homer and Virgil. (See above.)

1623 Soule of the Age! Sweet Swan of Avon! Starre of Poets!

1623 "What he thought, he uttered with that easinesse that wee have scarce received from him a blot in his papers."

(N.B.—The last quotation, though obviously written by Jonson, was fathered on the two players, Heminge and Condell.)

In *Discoveries* published in 1641 after Jonson's death, he perplexes us still more.

1641 *I remember* the Players have often mentioned it as an honour to *Shakespeare* that in his writings (whatsoever he penn'd) hee never blotted out line. My answer hath beene Would he had blotted a thousand. Which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance who choose that



circumstance to commend their friend by wherein he most faulted. And to justifie mine owne candor [for I lov'd the man and doe honour his memory (this side idolatry) as much as any]. Hee was (indeed) honest . . .

(N.B.—The parentheses in the first edition are peculiar, and if read alone, raise doubts.) Jonson's last tribute to Bacon is of a different character.

- 1641 (Lord St. Albane) My conceit of his Person was never increased toward him by his place or honours. But I have and doe reverence him for the greatnesse that was onely proper to himselfe, in that hee seem'd to mee ever, by his works, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had beene in many Ages.

Ben Jonson, who is generally cited as the principal witness for William Shakespeare, has now been called on behalf of Francis Bacon. His various utterances over the entire period when the Shakespeare plays were coming out are puzzling to say the least of it. After his early contemptuous remarks, of one thing we can be quite certain ; the eulogies in which he indulged in the First Shakespeare Folio were official, a kind of command performance.

Would that Ben Jonson could arise from his square foot of earth in Westminster Abbey and tell us why his two greatest contemporaries never once mentioned each other ; for to him the answer was assuredly known. The monuments, and even the title pages all seem to proclaim a mystery. Bacon in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans, sits as he used to sit,\* chin in hand, gazing into some New Atlantis of the future. Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey is pointing to one of the finest passages from *The Tempest*, deliberately misquoted ! Will Shaksper's plump and prosperous effigy in the Parish Church at Stratford stares vacuously before it, a quill ostentatiously paraded in its fat fingers. The mask-like countenance depicted in the First Folio is rejected by Ben Jonson with the plainest of hints . . . " Reader look, not on his picture but his book ".

#### THE AUTHOR A LAWYER

The abundance of legal terms displayed almost ostentatiously in the plays and sonnets has long attracted notice. It is not only the quantity, but the quality of these instances which is striking.

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\* *Sic sedebat* runs the inscription, not the more usual *Hic jacet*.

Ben Jonson uses legal jargon in his own plays, but he uses it in buffoonery and satire. The author of Shakespeare, in addition to satire, often displays a legal profundity which has been noticed by many eminent lawyers—among them Lord Chief Justice Campbell, who wrote as follows :

“ To Shakespeare’s law, lavishly as he propounds it, there can neither be demurrer, nor bill of exceptions, nor writ of error.”

While leaving this question for lawyers to decide, we are inclined to believe that this discernment, this nicety in the use of legal terms, would be beyond the capacity of a clerk in an attorney’s office, and even beyond that of an amateur law student at the Inns of Court, where it was not unusual for the sons of noblemen to pass some time. This is no disparagement of Oxford’s scholarship ; we simply beg leave to question the profundity of his legal acquirements. It is the trained mind that speaks in the Shakespeare plays—in jest or in earnest—as advocate or judge, and Bacon was both and a humorist into the bargain. Ben Jonson records that one of Bacon’s foibles was his inability to restrain himself from making a joke when it occurred to him. Perhaps it was some such frivolous or mischievous inclination that caused the Shakespeare Sonnet 46 to be written. Here it is :

“ Mine Eye and Heart are at a mortal war  
 How to divide the conquest of thy sight ;  
 Mine Eye my Heart thy picture’s sight would bar,  
 My Heart mine Eye the freedom of that right,  
 My Heart doth plead that thou in him dost lie  
 (A closet never pierc’d with crystal eyes),  
 But the Defendant doth that plea deny,  
 And says in him thy fair appearance lies.  
 To ’cide this title is impannelled  
 A quest of thoughts, all tenants to the Heart ;  
 And by their *verdict* is determined  
 The clear Eye’s moiety and the dear Heart’s part ;  
     As thus : mine Eye’s due is thine outward part,  
     And my Heart’s right, thine inward love of heart.”

Commenting on this extraordinary Sonnet, which must be unique among love songs, Lord Chief Justice Campbell writes as follows :

I need not go further than this sonnet, which is so intensely legal in its language and imagery, that without a considerable knowledge of English forensic procedure it cannot be fully understood. A lover

being supposed to have made a *conquest* of (i.e. to have gained by *purchase*) his mistress, his EYE and his HEART, holding as *joint-tenants*, have a contest as to how she is to be partitioned between them—each moiety then to be held in severalty. There are regular Pleadings in the suit, the HEART being represented as Plaintiff and the EYE as Defendant. At last issue is joined on what the one affirms and the other denies. Now a jury (in the nature of an inquest) is to be impannelled to 'cide (decide) and by their verdict to apportion between the litigating parties the subject matter to be decided. The jury fortunately are unanimous, and after due deliberation find for the EYE in respect of the lady's outward form, and for the HEART in respect of her inward love. Surely Sonnet 46 smells as potently of the attorney's office as any of the stanzas penned by Lord Kenyon while an attorney's clerk in Wales.

#### THE STATESMAN'S NOTEBOOK

The political undercurrent of the Shakespeare Plays is seldom penetrated. In 1817 Hazlitt hovered near the truth :

*Coriolanus* is a storehouse of political commonplaces. Anyone who studies it may save himself the trouble of reading Burke's reflections or Paine's Rights of Man, or the debates in both houses of Parliament since the French Revolution or our own.

But Hazlitt offers no suggestion as to how the Stratford actor could have gained this experience. It has fallen to modern commentators to supply this omission by writing up Stratford-on-Avon as an Elizabethan training ground for political writers. Professor L. C. Knight, in discussing the Roman plays, has emphasized Shakespeare's insistence on the "human content of political situations"; and he regards the Bard's "private experiences of the organic life of a small community" as contributing to his achievement. One can almost hear the contemptuous grunt of Bismarck at this view of Shakespeare's experience in statecraft.

In a most interesting paper read to a gathering at Stratford a few years ago, Mr. H. J. Oliver of Sydney described the real theme of *Coriolanus*, as "the proper place in a democratic or would-be democratic society of the pure aristocrat who, rightly or wrongly, will never compromise"—a theme which, as he pointed out, required a considerable deviation from Plutarch. Now this is a penetrating criticism so far as it goes. It frankly admits a deliberate alteration to a classical story to meet the

needs of a new and revolutionary dramatic purpose. Yet it is hard to believe that the moneylender of Stratford would have thus deviated from Plutarch in order to express the finer feelings of a nobleman who had become involved in the proceedings of a democratic society. This aspect of *Coriolanus* has been noticed before by Mark Van Doren :

The movement of *Coriolanus* is rhetorical, as in *Julius Caesar*, but more bleakly than there. The streets of Rome are conceived as rostrums where men meet for the sole purpose of discussing something—the character of the hero and its effect upon a certain political situation. Shakespeare is . . . addressing himself with all the sobriety of his intelligence to a subject which has not been created by the play itself, or even by its respected godfather Plutarch. It is a subject whose existence does not depend upon dramatic art, nor is the artist in this case wholly absorbed in it. . . .

It is perfectly true that the “artist” in this case is not wholly absorbed ; it is the “thinker” who is at work. For *Coriolanus* is one of the most thoughtful and perhaps least poetical of the Plays. Here is a subject which could only have been inspired by long experience of the Commons and of the Court as well ; surely a situation which only a Francis Bacon would have conceived.

It is in the Roman plays of *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus* and perhaps in *King Lear*, that the pattern of our own social revolution is most clearly foreshadowed. It is here that these blue-prints for the new age of democracy are cautiously revealed. In the conversations between the conspirators in *Julius Caesar*, or between the citizens and tribunes in *Coriolanus*, or between the gardeners in *Richard II*, or between the soldiers and King Henry V on the eve of Agincourt, it is the ideas of the Utopias which begin to steal upon the stage. In the Roman plays we are shown the inevitable collision between civil and personal interests. We are also shown the distinction between a true democracy (seen almost as an aristocracy of service) and that kind of demagogism which the crowd will always re-create when power is placed in its hands, namely the popular election and its misuse of the block vote. As the author of *Coriolanus* so clearly foresaw, this can eventually become the “monster of the multitude”, usurping the seat of the ancient tyrant. First we are shown the pride and selfish ambition of a prince who has



ranged himself against the Commonweal. Then we are shown the same prince contending for the Commonweal, against the short-sightedness and tyranny of the crowd. The same struggle between true democratic law and dictatorship by a Union (or by a man-made ideology) persists today.

There is another reason for ascribing *Coriolanus* to Francis Bacon, which is technical rather than political. The detailed description of the circulation of the blood, which is used as a parable by Menenius Agrippa in Act I, could not have been written before the Harvey lectures had commenced. The Bard, whoever he was, could scarcely have anticipated William Harvey in this momentous discovery ; and Will Shaksper had died before it was announced. If our hypothesis is correct and Francis Bacon wrote the play, the parable would have been almost irresistible. Not only was he living at the time, but Harvey *was his personal physician* ! The impulse to illustrate his social and political theories in this picturesque and technical way, would have been characteristic of Bacon. Here are the lines :

. . . Note me this, good friend ;  
 Your most grave belly was deliberate,  
 Not rash like his accusers, and thus answered ;  
 True it is, my incorporate Friends " quoth he,  
 That I receive the general food at first  
 Which you do live upon ; and fit it is,  
 Because I am the store-house and the shop  
 Of the whole body : but if you do remember  
 I send it through the rivers of your blood,  
 Even to the court, the heart, to the seat o' the brain ;  
 And, through the cranks and offices of man,  
 The strongest nerves and small inferior veins  
 From me receive that natural competency  
 Whereby they live . . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

#### LORD BACON'S CHARACTER—AN OLD LIBEL EXPOSED

Lord Bacon's personal character has been as much admired as it has been abused. Naturally this has perplexed students, who have been torn between the desire to listen to Bacon's real biographers or to follow blindly the big drum of Macaulay. Perhaps we should remember the attitude and credentials of

those who knew Francis Bacon personally. Two monarchs relied upon his counsel, integrity and judgment. Raleigh admired him, Anthony Bacon, Falkland and Herbert loved him, Robert Cecil respected him, and Ben Jonson revered him. Edward Coke, his unscrupulous life-long rival, hated him. Later, Wilson and D'Ewes traduced him and Macaulay libelled him. The latter's brilliant essay (as Spedding foretold) has beguiled the public into accepting historical inaccuracies of a very serious kind. It is not for nothing that Winston Churchill has, dubbed this stimulating writer the " prince of literary rogues ".

Bacon never supported the Essex rebellion ; on the contrary, he strongly advised him against this reckless course. He had made his deepest allegiance to the Queen perfectly clear to Essex. He said, in effect, that, if the Earl settled his obligations to him by a gift of land it could only be accepted with " the ancient savings of homage and duty to the Crown ". Francis Bacon begged to be excused from appearing at the Essex trial, but was commanded to attend *nolens volens*. And, being forced to appear (in the minor role of " Queen's Counsel Extraordinary " which made him in fact her watch-dog) he could have no more supported the Essex treason than Raleigh could have thrown up his command of the Guard. It was obvious that Essex had become a dangerous rebel and a traitor to his country ; but fortunately the old Queen still had staunch counsellors and Essex was very properly arrested, tried and executed : we cannot accept, therefore, this popular misconception of Bacon's relationship with Essex.

But since Macaulay's insinuations will continue to be read as literature, however unreliable historically, one must try to appreciate the difficulties in which men of letters, jealous of their professional honour, are placed when asked to consider Francis Bacon as our national bard. If the latter could be put upon trial before a modern, properly-constituted court, these difficulties would disappear and Macaulay's insinuations would fall to the ground. For, as the late Lord Birkenhead wrote, *he never had a trial*.\*

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\* *Famous Trials*.

It is misleading, to put it mildly, to say that Bacon confessed to a charge of bribery. What he did was to desert his defence at the King's command, and rely on a Royal promise of pardon.\* We can only surmise his reasons for trusting the King and Buckingham. Probably it was to save the Court, which was notoriously corrupt, from a direct collision with the Commons. His words to King James after that last interview show his state of mind, "I wish that as I am the first, so I may be the last of Sacrifices in your Times".†

In abandoning his defence Bacon acknowledged the evils of the "Fee System"—the recognized way in which judges in those days were remunerated, and on which, from the time of Sir Thomas More, every Lord Chancellor had had to depend. He also acknowledged his fault in not restraining his servants from abusing this system by exacting a rake-off. In those days there was no Civil List ; so judges received fees just as counsel receive "tips" today ; but that did not mean that justice was perverted. The customary fee had to be paid for a hearing ; and perhaps the most delightful touch in the political arraignment of Bacon was that three witnesses, who paid sums which were later held to be bribes, and who *lost* their cases, asked for their money back !

In the political "frame-up" by which the ruin of Francis Bacon was accomplished there was no properly constituted court ; the witnesses were examined in Bacon's absence, not a single witness was examined on oath, none were cross-examined and all were given a free pardon. The published "interrogatories" are therefore quite misleading. As Charles Williams put it : "Anyone who had ever heard of any attempt to give a gratuity to any servant of the Lord Chancellor was invited to say so, with a promise of complete amnesty and oblivion". One cannot imagine a more effective method of collecting irresponsible accusations against a great Lord Chancellor. We know the personal result ; Bacon was sacrificed for the sake of a praiseworthy judicial reform. But what was the legal result ? After four years' hard work and the clearance of some thirty-six

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\*Hacket's *Life of Dean Williams*.

† *Baconiana* (1679), p. 16.

thousand cases in Chancery,\* not one single decree of Bacon's was reversed, all standing firm to this day. And what happened later to his accusers and successors in office? In a few years, as history records, all of them were proved to be completely corrupt.

#### BACON AND THE ANCIENT MYSTERIES

Enlightenment by means of the dramatic art or "feigned history" was a method of teaching which Bacon commended: the "magisterial" method was to be supplemented by the "initiative" method, the pulpit by the proscenium. It was a good way of reaching the whole man, the emotions as well as the reason, and was to be the promised fourth part of his Great Instauration. Most of his biographers have entirely missed this point; though it was noticed by Delia Bacon. This frail New Englander, who came to this country with true missionary zeal just a century ago, combined an exceptional insight into *The Great Instauration* with a profound Shakespearian scholarship. By nature she was perhaps too quixotic, not realising that she was tilting against the windmills of a popular creed. I have quoted her more fully in *A Pioneer* but here are a few brief extracts from her first brilliant essay in an American magazine, *Putnam's Monthly* for January, 1856. It would be hard, even with the evidence which has since come to light, to present the philosophic argument more skilfully.

Condemned to refer the origin of these works to the illiterate man who kept the theatre, compelled to regard them as merely the result of an extraordinary talent for pecuniary speculation, condemned to look for the author of *Hamlet*—the subtle Hamlet of the university, the courtly Hamlet—"the glass of fashion and the mould of form"—in that doggish group of players who came into the scene summoned like a pack of hounds to his service—how could we understand the enigmatical Hamlet, with the thought of ages in his foregone conclusions? . . . "He looks into Arden and into Eastcheap from the Court stand-point, not from these into the Court. He is as much a prince with Points and Bardolph as when he throws open to us, without awe, the most delicate mysteries of the royal presence. . . .

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\* *The Story of Lord Bacon's Life.* W. H. Dixon (1862).



How could the player's mercenary motive and the player's range of learning and experiment give us the key to this new application of the human reason to the human life? How could we understand, from such a source, this new, and strange, and perservering application of thought to life. . . . In vain the shrieking queen remonstrates, for it is the impersonated reason whose clutch is on her, and it says "*you go not hence till you have seen the inmost part of you*".

There were men in England who knew well enough what kind of instrumentality the drama had been, and with what voices it had spoken. And where else had this mighty instrument for moving and moulding the multitude its first origin, if not among men initiated in the profoundest religious and philosophic mysteries of their time—the joint administrators of the government of Athens, when Athens sat on the summit of her power? . . .

Thus blinded we shall not perhaps distinguish that magnificent whole with which this author will replace his worthless originals—that whole in which we shall one day see, not the burning Illium, not the old Danish court of the tenth century, but the yet living, illustrious Elizabethan age, with all its momentous interests still at stake.

There was one moment in that history in which all the elements of the national genius, were held together in their first vigour, pressed from without into their old Greek conjunction. That moment there was; it is chronicled; we have one word for it; we call it "Shakespeare". Has the time come at last, or has it not yet come, in which this message of the new time can be laid open to us?

If we had but gone far enough in our readings of these works to feel the want of that aid from exterior (Baconian) sources, there would not have been presented to the world, at this hour, the spectacle—the stupendous spectacle—of a nation referring the origin of its drama—a drama more noble, and learned, and subtle than the Greek—to the invention—the accidental, unconscious invention—of a third-rate play-actor. The true Shakespeare would not have been now to seek. . . .

We should have found one, with learning deep enough, and subtle enough, and comprehensive enough, one with nobility of aim and philosophic and poetic genius enough, to be able to claim his own immortal progeny—undwarfed, unblinded, undeprived of one ray or dimple of that all-pervading reason that informs them, and absolute in their numbers as he conceived them.

It seems to me that Francis Bacon was the acknowledged leader of a talented group, and that Ben Jonson eventually became his "My Man John". Anthony Bacon and Tobie Matthew were obviously trusted members and I am willing to believe that the Earls of Oxford, Southampton, Derby,

Pembroke and Montgomery were also associated with this group. But the real tower of strength behind it—philosophically, legally and academically—was the genius of Francis Bacon ; of this I feel reasonably convinced. For four of the Folio plays I claim Baconian authorship unreservedly ; for *Love's Labour's Lost*, which was one of the earliest, and for *Julius Caesar*, *Coriolanus* and *The Tempest*, which were among the last printed. I claim these plays for Bacon, firstly because he was the only great English writer who had been personally acquainted with the Court of Navarre during his younger days in France. Secondly because, later in life, he was the only English House of Commons man, courtier and social thinker capable of conceiving *Coriolanus* as a calculated deviation from Plutarch, and also because *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar* seem to me to be the plays of a great orator. Thirdly because *The Tempest* (like his own *New Atlantis*) was directly inspired by his personal and close association with the Virginia Company.

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The external evidence for Bacon is of a kind which is not available in the case of any other candidate. Not only are there contemporary manuscripts extant in Bacon's hand, but many parallels with the plays exist in his acknowledged writings.

Marlowe, educated at Canterbury and Cambridge, is a more difficult problem. Certainly the plays ascribed to him are the nearest approach to the Shakespearian drama in our literature. Although not to be compared with Shakespeare at his best, yet often it is the same voice that sings. The greatness of planning is also there (as Goethe remarked), but the more subtle delineation of character has not reached maturity. As a competent villain, Dr. Faustus is hardly a match for Iago or Richard III. Marlowe's plays strike one as the work of a younger man or perhaps even of the same man at an earlier stage. Did he really write them, or were they fathered on him after his untimely death ? It is impossible to be certain about Marlowe ; we know too little about him ; and his literary reputation, as we have said, is entirely posthumous. Not a single play was credited to him while he lived.

TITLE PAGE OF BACON'S ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING  
IN THE FIRST CONTINENTAL EDITIONS OF  
1645, 1652, 1654, 1662.



*"The Dionysian Procession must enter the Temple"*  
(Delia Bocon)

Oxford, moving in Court circles, had a more likely background. Bacon, moving freely in Court and Commons as well, had an even more likely one ; and for him we also have the vast evidence of his own writings. To those who cannot perceive these identities of thought, philosophy, diction and imagination, we can make no further appeal ; for beyond the evidence we cannot go. To persuade you further by eloquence or art is not for us. Prospero has long since doffed his magic robe ; the pageant is ended, and his last prayer, expressed in his epilogue, is for liberation through *your* understanding. Let your indulgence set him free.

\* \* \* \* \*

Versatility in style is the prerogative of the great artist. We should not let it trouble us that the Bard may have been one of England's greatest lawyers. Cannot we all raise our style at times ? Is there not (as O'Connor pointed out) a vast difference between *A Lawyer's Farewell to his Muse* and the same Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries* ? Is there not a difference in style between Sir Walter Raleigh's *Cabinet Council* and that ringing poem *The Soul's Errand*, or between Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* and the unearthly *Kubla Khan* ? Does the prose of Shelley's *Defence of Poetry*—however raised in style—compare with the wild loveliness of the *Ode to the West Wind* ?

Look once again at the title page of Bacon's *De Augmentis* on page 93. Was the Dutch artist merely amusing himself, or did he express a hidden meaning ? Assuredly he points to a restoration of the Mysteries. He suggests unmistakably that the ancient dramatic method of teaching had been reintroduced by Bacon as a parallel to the direct teachings of history and science. For, while pointing to the open text he calls us secretly to the Athenian Hill, through the medium of the *tragic* Muse. Surely it is the Shaker of the Spear—the Grand Master of the Knights of the Helmet himself—who sits in that chair. In this one careful engraving the artist reveals Bacon's dual literary purpose.



## BACON'S PSALMS

By GEORGE HOOKHAM

*(Reprinted with acknowledgements to the original publishers,  
Basil Blackwell Ltd.)*

THE adversaries of Bacon . . . have taken a mischievous pleasure in ridiculing his version of some of the Psalms—ridicule that, it must be confessed, is only partially misplaced. But before dealing with these it is worth while to show that, even if he had been a great poet, he was not the only great poet on whom the Psalms have exercised a strange and baneful influence. Milton himself came under it—Milton in whom self-criticism was as highly-developed as it was deficient in Bacon. Well, Milton wrote demented paraphrases of the Psalms, and in his case the alienation was more severe and more protracted than in Bacon's. The mass of his paraphrases is much more considerable, and individually they are worse. What possessed the "mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies" to emit such discords is one of the curious problems of literature. Here is a specimen :

"Psalm VII Upon the words of Cush the Benjamite against him" (David).

But the just establish fast,  
Since thou art the just God that tries  
Hearts and reins. On God is cast  
My defence, and in Him lies ;  
In Him who both just and wise  
Saves the upright of heart at last.

This is doggerel pure and simple ; but there are specimens of comic doggerel. I will give one : it must be seen to be believed. Here it is.

With these *great* Ashur also bands  
*And doth confirm the knot :*  
*All these have lent their armed hands*  
To aid the sons of Lot.  
Do to them as to Midian *bold*  
That wasted all the coast,  
To Sisera, and *as is told*  
Thou didst to Jabin's host.

One's first impulse is to exclaim : An enemy hath done this, with the object of making Holy Scripture ridiculous. But, no, it is meant religiously, and is the careful work of the great master of style and music in poetry, the "organ-voice" of England, the "mighty puritan" himself : and as if to show that the wonderful worst in these most wonderful productions is quite gratuitous, he has had the passages which I have italicized printed in a different type from the rest. This to show that these happy phrases are Milton's own, and that the Psalmist is in no way responsible for them.

Now let us turn to Bacon's versions ; and let it be admitted at once that there is much in them that can only be called doggerel ; but, I think only once comic doggerel. This is the much and gleefully quoted couplet :

There hast Thou set the great Leviathan,  
Who makes the seas to seethe like boiling pan.

Comic certainly, but the comicality is really a sort of accident. At any rate, the comic element is not additive and gratuitous, as in Milton's case. For do we not read in the book of Job, "He maketh the deep to boil like a pot" ? Might not Bacon with his consummate reverence for Scripture have felt it was not for him to improve on Holy Writ, or shrink from an expression that he found consecrated there—found, even, put by the inspired writer in the mouth of the Almighty ? Was he to improve it according to his mundane ideas of composition ? I think he may have felt this : I think some such feeling also explains Milton. This may be or may not : but I have sometimes wondered whether the scoffers were always aware of the passage in Job. I have come across some who were not a little surprised to hear of it.

But there is this difference between Milton and Bacon. Milton evidently set out with the fixed intention, however unintelligible, of keeping his poetical faculty in abeyance : and, as we have seen, was eminently successful. In these Psalms of his he never—I think I may say never—gives it play. Bacon was of different temper. A greater contrast to Milton, temperamentally, it would be difficult to imagine. Just as in his conversation his humour would break out of bounds, so, in these psalms, whatever may have been the intention with which he

set out, his poetical powers insist on asserting themselves. Consequently his psalms, although they contain much that is prose, and doggerel prose at that, also include passages of great beauty ; which, by the way, have always and completely been overlooked by the scoffers. This is from *The Waters of Babylon* psalm : no wonder that Bacon felt touched by it as he recalled it. His verses show his emotion :

Jerusalem, where God His throne hath set,  
 Shall any hour absent thee from my mind,  
 Then let my right hand quite her skill forget,  
 Then let my voice and tongue no passage find ;  
 Yea if I do not thee prefer in all  
 That in the compass of my thoughts can fall.

Contrast the easy movement of these lines with the halting measures of Milton's psalms. Milton surprises us with the contrast with his other work. This is just what we should expect from Bacon's. Like his prose it has the force that comes of volume and flow. There is a peculiar pathos about the second line (*Shall*, by the way, is not interrogative, it is future conditional), a pathos intensified, perhaps, for us by its reminiscence of Hamlet's dying words to Horatio : and they seem to show that Bacon had at his command for poetry that last magical gift of the poet, the faculty of charging words with meaning and emotion that words as words, cannot convey—a power that we knew from his prose that he possessed. These Psalms were written on a bed of illness, a casual exercise to prevent time from running to waste, and sustained effort is not to be looked for ; still less, careful revision. But the passage quoted does not stand alone. There is more that is striking ; with flaws, no doubt, but with undeniable beauties, and always the same easy movement.

Upon thy head thou wear'st a glorious crown,  
 All set with virtues, polished with renown,  
 Then round about a silver veil doth fall  
 Of crystal light, mother of colours all.  
 The compass heaven, smooth without grain or fold,  
 All set with spangs of glittering stars untold ;  
 And striped with golden beams of power unpent  
 Is raised up for a removing tent.

In the beginning with a mighty hand  
 He made the earth by counterpoise to stand ;  
 Never to move, but to be fixed still ;  
 Yet hath no pillars but his sacred will.

It seems to me that the contrast between the material connotation of *pillars* and the immaterial *will* is fine. Then, we observe, not *mighty* will or *powerful* will, but *sacred* will. It is the holiness of the Lord that gives the heavens their steadfastness. It seems to me a grand thought and finely expressed : and again we notice the tidal flow of the lines. Once more :

Before the hills did intercept the eye,  
 Or that the frame was up of earthly stage,  
 One God thou wert and art and still shall be ;  
 The line of time it does not measure Thee.

\* \* \* \* \*

Much like a mocking dream that will not bide,  
 But flies before the sight of waking eye ;  
 Or as the grass that cannot term obtain  
 To see the summer come about again.

This seems to me the work of a poet, actual or potential. For in such production, being little more than an exercise, done under such circumstances and under the influence of such secondary inspiration, we must not look for more than indications. But what is especially to be noticed is the conspicuous ease with which Bacon moves in verse.



## LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST AND GRAY'S INN

By R. L. EAGLE

THERE is agreement among commentators that *Love's Labour's Lost* was not written for performance in the public playhouse. The title-page of the quarto of 1598 states that it was "presented before her Highness this last Christmas. Newly corrected and augmented". That the play had actually been written some years earlier is clear from an allusion by Robert Tofte in his "Alba" (1598) :

Loues Labour Lost I *once* did see a Play  
Ycleped so.

Many of the words, expressions and jests in this play would have been quite meaningless except at the Inns of Court, and at Gray's Inn in particular. The natural inference is that it was originally written for performance there, rather than for the entertainment of the Queen and her Court, for whom it would have had to be formally approved and recommended by the Master of the Revels. A previous performance before a distinguished audience such as assembled on these occasions at Gray's Inn would be an excellent opportunity for testing a play's suitability. The tragedy of *Gorboduc* written by Thomas Norton and Lord Buckhurst was performed by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple on Twelfth Night, 1560/1, and was found suitable for a repeat performance before the Queen on January 18, also at the Inner Temple.\*

The indications that the Shakespeare comedy was originally written for presentation at Gray's Inn are numerous and significant enough to make the theory acceptable. The mainspring of the play is, of course, the King of Navarre's "little Academy" composed of himself and the three courtiers to study philosophy away from "the huge army of the world's desires", including, of course, women. The idea for this came from Pierre de la Primaudaye's *L'Académie françoise*, translated in 1586 by Thomas

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\* This was four days before the birth of Francis Bacon.

Bowes, and which was prescribed for the instruction of the Knights of the Helmet in the Gray's Inn revels of 1594-5. In these revels, known as *Gesta Grayorum*, the Sixth Counsellor, addressing the Prince of Purpoole, alludes to the play of *Love's Labour's Lost*, proving that it was well known at the Inn :

They would make you a king in a play . . .  
What ! nothing but tasks ? Nothing but working days ?  
No feasting, no comedies, no love, no ladies ?

Biron objects to these strict observances with :

Oh ! these are barren tasks, too hard to keep—  
Not to see ladies ; study, fast, not sleep.

The numerous legal expressions, and the particular use made of them for the amusement of this special audience, both in jest and metaphor, could only have come from the brain of one who was himself trained in the law. All these would have been completely lost in the public playhouse, and a professional playwright, even if he could have possessed such knowledge, would have had more sense than to introduce them.

Quite inappropriately, and probably in order to add to the comic effect, some of the jargon is put into the mouths of the clown, Costard, and the fantastical Spaniard, Armado, in his letter read by the King in the first scene. Twice Costard uses the expression "in manner and form following". This was a phrase heard frequently in the courts of law, and also written in wills, as in that of Sir Nicholas Bacon. A little further on in the same scene, the King reads Armado's letter with question and answer concerning "The time when ?" . . . "The place where ?" This was the standard form for a legal indictment, and like Costard's play on "manner and form following" it is a skit on legal phraseology, which a Gray's Inn audience would understand and enjoy. Before passing from the opening scene, I would like to refer to Biron's speech (lines 148-160) :

So to the laws at large I write my name ;  
And he that breaks them in the least degree  
Stands in attainder of eternal shame.

The offender would be guilty of treason against the vows sworn under oath to the King, and so liable to the normal forfeit of all honours and the rights to property. Shakespeare uses "attainder" in its technical sense.

In Act V, (ii), Katharine tells Dumain that he must wait “ A twelvemonth and a day ” for her decision as to whether she will marry him. This term constituted the full legal year both on the Continent and in England. The expression is used again by the King later on in the scene.

Shake-speare apparently had good reason for making the King and the three lords appear disguised “ like Muscovites or Russians ”. Sir E. K. Chambers, in his “ William Shakespeare ”, noted that there is a close parallel here to the *Gray’s Inn Revels* for 1594/5, which concluded with a performance of *The Comedy of Errors*, and with the return of Knights from a campaign in Russia against “ Negro-Tartars ”. The “ Prince of Purpoole ” (the benchers’ master of ceremonies) on his return from Russia was made the occasion of a further pageant, when he declared that he was only prevented from paying his respects to Elizabeth by the fact that his body “ by length of my Journey, and my sickness at Sea, is so weakened ”. When, in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, the Princess and her ladies taunt the men on the failure of their “ Russian ” interlude, and bring them to confusion, Rosaline makes the topical remark : “ Why look you pale ? Sea-sick, I think, coming from Muscovy ”. The stage direction for the entrance of the “ Russians ” begins with “ Enter Blackamoors with music ”. Possibly this may be a reflection of the “ Negro Tartars ”. There is no point otherwise in introducing them, and they have never appeared in any production of the play which I have seen. The Princess alludes to the four men as “ A mess of Russians ”, and the word is used also in Act IV, Sc. iii, 204 :

*Biron*—That you three fools lack’d me, fool, to make up the mess.

Edward James Castle, Q.C., in *Shakespeare, Bacon, Jonson and Greene* (1897), p. 70, refers to the practice of the Inns of Court of dining in “ messes ”, i.e. groups made up of fours.

The inference is that the play was performed at Gray’s Inn very soon after the famous Revels of 1594/5, when the “ revels, dances, masques and merry hours ” (IV, iii)—which followed precisely in that order—were fresh in the memory of that particular audience.

## THE VILIFIERS OF VERULAM

By THE HON. SIR JOHN A. COCKBURN, K.C.M.G., M.D.

DURING the life of Francis Bacon there was little said to his detriment. Hepworth Dixon remarks that "the lie against nature in the name of Francis Bacon broke into high literary force with Pope. Before his day the scandal had only oozed in the slime of Welden, Chamberlain and D'Ewes". Of these the last named is, from the position that he occupied, the most noticeable ; it is therefore important that the value of his testimony should be investigated. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. II, 1846, contains a review of the Autobiography and correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes ; therein it is stated that his opinions of the men with whom he occasionally came into contact is very often not to be trusted, because, in the words of the reviewer, "D'Ewes was a narrow-minded man, who looked with strong prejudice upon everyone whose faith did not exactly square with his own, and in reference to such persons was uncharitably willing to believe all kinds of nonsense. Hence his slanders against Lord Bacon and Sir Robert Cotton, and his depreciation of Selden and many other persons".

The political enemies of Lord Verulam were astounded at the success of their infamous Cabal. It seemed incredible that the great Chancellor, the glory of his age, should have been laid low so easily. They were not aware of what had passed behind the scenes between the King and Buckingham and the wily prelate, John Williams, who supplanted Bacon as Keeper of the Great Seal. His advice was to save the favourite and the Crown by a vicarious sacrifice. Neither could it have been known that at His Majesty's entreaty Bacon abandoned his defence and consented to offer himself as "an oblation to the King". Possibly the dread of pressing the fallen Lord Chancellor beyond the limits of human endurance sealed the lips of his adversaries. He might have been driven to make recriminations. His peremptory demand to Buckingham for release as a



prisoner from the Tower,—“ Good My Lord, Procure the warrant for my discharge this day ”,—may have acted as a salutary warning to the then all-powerful favourite.

Next to Pope, whose brilliant line on Bacon as the “ Wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind ” has provided the text for a host of libellers, comes Mrs. Catherine Macaulay as the foremost of Bacon’s calumniators. Her name is now almost forgotten, but for several generations she was regarded as a great and reliable historian. Pope’s craving for antithesis was irresistible. No attribute could have been more inappropriate to Bacon than meanness, for lavish generosity was with him almost a weakness. But the poet required a dark background to set off the panegyric of the other adjectives. No such excuse can be offered for Mrs. Macaulay. She seizes on the word “ meanest ” to sum up her delineation of Bacon’s character and writings. She was a republican and a radical, and naturally Bacon, as a whole-hearted supporter of Monarchy, was obnoxious to her views. But no political prejudice can serve as an excuse for the following shameful words as applied to the greatest of England’s philosophers and statesmen.

“ Despicable in all the active part of life and only glorious in the contemplative, him the rays of Science served to embellish not to enlighten, and philosophy herself was degraded by a conjunction with his mean soul ”.

One would have thought that such intemperate language applied to him who is universally admitted to have been the father of experimental philosophy would have put the writer out of court as a reliable historian. Yet Lecky called her the ablest writer of the new radical school, and her History was by some preferred to that of Hume. Her maiden name was Catherine Sawbridge, but she is known by the surname of her first husband, Dr. George Macaulay. Her *History of England* was published in eight volumes from 1763 to 1783. It had a wide circulation and was translated into French. It inspired Madame Roland with the ambition of being “ *la Macaulay de son pays* ”. Mrs Macaulay visited Paris in 1775 and was received with great honour. In 1785 she was entertained for ten days at Mount Vernon by General Washington. A white marble statue of her was placed within the altar rails of St. Stephens,

Walbrook, in which she was represented in the character of *history*. A vault was also constructed to receive her remains. But the statue was afterwards removed and the vault was otherwise utilised. Many portraits of her were painted and a medallion was struck in her honour. Pitt eulogised her History in the House of Commons. She was noted, however, for her vituperative language and, being addicted to the use of rouge, Dr. Johnson remarked of her that it was better that she should "redde[n] her own cheeks" than blacken the character of others.

It is an ungrateful and repulsive task to say anything except what is good of the dead. But Bacon's counsels have played so important a part in founding the British Empire, and obedience to them is so essential to its maintenance, that the veracity of his vilifiers demands enquiry. They have known no restraint in their ghoulish propensity to desecrate his memory, and in the interests of justice their own characters must be subject to post-mortem examination. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Part II, 1794, p. 685, the following quotation is given from Isaac D'Israeli's Dissertation on Anecdotes. "I shall not dismiss this topick, without seizing the opportunity it affords of disclosing to the public an anecdote which should not have been hitherto concealed from it. When some Historians meet with information in favour of those personages whom they have chosen to execrate as it were systematically, they employ forgeries, interpolations, or still more effectual villainies. Mrs. Macaulay, when she consulted the MSS. at the British Museum, was accustomed in her historical researches, when she came to any passage unfavourable to her party, or in favour of the Stuarts, to destroy the page of the MS. These dilapidations were at length perceived, and she was watched. The Harleian MS. 7379 will go down to posterity as an eternal testimony of her historical partiality. It is a collection of State-letters, this MS. had three pages entirely torn out; and it has a note, signed by the Principal Librarian, that on such a day the MS. was delivered to her; and the same day the pages were found to be destroyed."

Mrs. Macaulay's second husband, Mr. Graham, wrote letters to Mr. D'Israeli containing such insults as proved him to be an apt pupil of his wife's methods. Witnesses were reluctant to

come forward to verify their previous statements, but Mr. D'Israeli in the final letter of the correspondence sees no argument or fact in what was brought forward to disprove the truth of the anecdote which he recorded. It would be interesting to know if Mrs. Macaulay ever had access to the MSS. in the Lambeth Palace library. That would explain many things.

This dissertation on the life of a lady now relegated to oblivion would appear superfluous, but it should be remembered that Mrs. Macaulay's history was regarded as a classic when Lord Macaulay was in his youth, and he could hardly have escaped its influence. His own delineation of Bacon's character has been described as "a mere heap of contradictory qualities" which could not have co-existed in any individual. Yet in the eyes of an uninformed public it still holds the field. Lord Chancellor Campbell copied even its errors with meticulous care, just as a Chinese tailor reproduced in a new suit of clothes a patch on a sailor's old garments. Lord Campbell adopted Pope's glittering line as the text of his treatise, and his example has been followed by a host of feeble imitators whom it would be tedious to enumerate.

Not long ago one of the greatest of legal luminaries said that it was now unnecessary to write a Vindication of Verulam, because no one of any consequence credited Macaulay's accusations. But the flood of vituperation which found vent at the Tercentenary of Bacon's death, even from some men of literary fame, proves the contrary. Spedding's "Life and Letters of Francis Bacon" and his "Evenings with a Reviewer" fully dispose of the slanders against Verulam, but Spedding's works are too voluminous for the ordinary reader, and alas ! one often finds them with the pages still uncut.

Never were words uttered by Lord Macaulay more true than when he said that "no reports are more readily believed than those which disparage genius and soothe the envy of conscious mediocrity". It is human nature for certain types of mind to hate any one who morally and intellectually towers high above their ken. But John Aubrey said that all that were good and great loved and honoured Bacon. Perhaps the converse holds good of the present day Vilifiers of Verulam.

# BACON'S NOVUM ORGANUM AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE\*

By PROFESSOR IRVING L. HOROWITZ  
(Hobart and William Smith Colleges, U.S.A.)

ON two counts Francis Bacon was responsible for major developments in the pre-history of the sociology of knowledge : (1) He developed the first typology of the sources of distortion in human understanding ; and (2) he attempted to provide a social explanation of philosophical errors. These two interconnected points remain firm, if often unconscious, guides to those sociologists of knowledge anchored to an empirical philosophy of science.

Bacon was led to his social interpretations of epistemology by his belief that " the human understanding is no dry light, but receives an infusion from the will and affections. . . . For what a man had rather were true he more readily believes ". Because of this, the man of knowledge, who is no less the man of interests, " rejects difficult things from impatience of research ; sober things, because they narrow hope ; the deeper things of nature, from superstition ; the light of experience, from arrogance and pride, lest his mind should seem to be occupied with things mean and transitory ; things not commonly believed, out of deference to the opinion of the vulgar. Numberless in short are the ways, and sometimes imperceptible, in which the affections colour and infect the understanding "† (xlix).

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\* This paper is extracted from a chapter on historical precursors to the sociology of knowledge. See my *Philosophy, Science and the Sociology of Knowledge* (Springfield, III., 1961) ; a monograph in the American Lecture Series in Philosophy. An earlier draft of the above section on Bacon, " Prehistoria de la sociologia del conocimiento " was published in *Cuadernos de Sociologia, Facultad de Filosofia y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, Vol. XIII, No. 22, pp. 189 - 214, 1960.

† All references to Bacon are to his *Novum Organum* ; or, *True Directions Concerning The Interpretation of Nature*. Bracketed references are to Bacon's propositions, so that they may conveniently be referred to irrespective of the edition of his works used.



In his characterization of the four types of false consciousness in philosophy, Bacon drew heavily upon a sociological explanation. In fact, although the terms "idol" and "ideology" bear only a superficial linguistic resemblance (the latter term not coming into use until the 19th century in the writings of Destutt de Tracy in France and Karl Marx in Germany), Bacon leaves no doubt that he is using "idol" not so much in the sense of pagan religious worship, but rather as a synonym for socially conditioned faulty reasoning.

In the first "idol" Bacon denounces, we have a perfect example of this terminological shift in meaning. The Idols of the Tribe, the notions built around the premise that "man is the measure of things", rests primarily on Bacon's contention that this Idol has become rooted in man as a self-protective social animal. He sees anthropomorphic, tribal attitudes to knowledge as a "false mirror" which "receiving rays irregularly, distorts and discolours the nature of things by mingling its own nature with it". He then points to the fact that while the social preoccupations of men inform the affections and the will, they no less deform the senses. The Idol remains powerful because it is a reinforcement of the quest for security in an objectively precarious, almost contingent world (xli, lii).

The remaining three idols reveal an amazing tendency on Bacon's part to equate certain types of false understanding with specific characteristics of the contending social forces of 16th-century English life, the politically dominant aristocracy, the urban centred commercial interests, and the only extant "professional" intelligentsia—the high clergy.

The Idols of the Cave (of the individual rather than of social man) exhibit a narrowness and provinciality which is characteristic of the learned, humanist-oriented aristocracy. They are errors which arise "owing either to his own proper and peculiar nature or to his education and conversation with others; or to the reading of books, and the authority of those whom he esteems and admires". These are, in sum, the idols of men who search for science in their own private worlds of discourse, and not in the greater world of nature (xlii, liii).

The Idols of the Market-place are more definitely "business-like" in character; since they are formed in "the commerce

and consort of men ” and in either a real or symbolic marketplace. This group fetishizes words just as they also deify the functions of the economic system of exchange. They throw everything into a confusion in the midst of which the idols induced by words overcome the proper understanding of reality (xliii, lx).

The Idols of the Theatre, the false notions inherited from philosophical rivalries inherited from a hoary past, are the Achilles heel of the intellectual clergy. The belief in received systems, which Bacon considers as “ so many stage plays ”, represents the world in an unreal and detached fashion. Bacon pauses to point out that these idols are not innate nor secretive (a clear reference to the Scholastic inheritance), but that this arises in everyone directly infected by this particular Idol through literary, philosophical and theological falsehoods, buttressed by a “ false logic ”. Bacon ends his critique of the Idols of the Theatre with a reminder that “ when a man runs the wrong way, the more active and swift he is the further he will go astray ” (lxi, xlv).

While I have interpolated a more strict correlation of consciousness and class than Bacon had perhaps intended, it is difficult to see what other construction can be placed on his theory and criticism of Idols. For clearly, what Bacon offers is not a *philosophical* reply to what he considers epistemological errors ; indeed he even opens his *Organum* by declaring the hopelessness of such an approach. What he does offer is a *sociological* critique of the philosophic conscience. It is this element that has led to comments on Bacon’s contemporaneity.

This modern aspect should not, however, lead us too far afield. Attempts to place Bacon at the start of the British empirical tradition, overlook just how restricted he was by the thought of pre-Socratic materialism and mechanism. Such efforts ignore his inclusion of empiricism, along with sophistry and superstition, among “ the parent stock of errors ”. Bacon as a matter of fact was supremely confident in the rational order of nature and mind alike. He never questioned the possibility of reaching truth through a return to nature. This rationalism is true philosophy. What limits Bacon’s position is this ; why, if the idols he so trenchantly describes, are comfortable and useful to

their entrenched holders, should it be necessary to overcome them? This matter never became a problem to him in the strict sense that he never questioned the capacity of human reason to overcome superstition, and the ability of all men to arrive at a true interpretation of nature.

In the larger issues of philosophy, Bacon exhibited that rare foresight that one seeks in vain in the writings of even such savants of *Geisteswissenschaft* as Dilthey and *Wissenssoziologie* as Mannheim. Bacon escaped an extreme relativism, not by declaring in favour of the truth potential of a single social class—an intellectual *freischwebende* élite—or of an undemonstrable existence of *a priori* categories of social truth. Rather, Bacon placed his optimistic faith in the truth-making (and truth-breaking) potential of a technological revitalization of society, and in the capacity of science to disclose that “the mind not only in its own faculties, but in its connection with things, must hold that the art of discovery may advance as discoveries advance” (cxxx). In contemporary terms, Bacon’s optimism resides in the firm belief that the problem of truth is solved in the practice and progress of an industrial way of life—a steadying brew in an era of *blut und boden* and *Homo Viator*.

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#### *Bibliographical Note on Wissenssoziologie and Bacon*

In the literature of German *Wissenssoziologie* Bacon is usually accorded perfunctory treatment. However, there have been noteworthy exceptions, to which scholarly attention ought to be drawn. The most impressive evaluation of Bacon as a precursor of the sociology of knowledge is by Hans Barth, *Wahrheit und Ideologie*, chapter 1 (Zurich, 1945). This is the only evaluation I have seen which maintains the essentially sociological character of Bacon’s criticism of inherited philosophical idols. Barth does not, however, examine Bacon’s effort to pit science against relativism. A judicious, but much too brief account of Bacon’s recognition of problems in the sociology of knowledge, can be found in Hans Speier, “The Social Determination of Ideas”, *Social Order and the Risks of War*, chapter VIII (New York, 1952).

Wilhelm Dilthey’s *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften : Versuch einer Grundlegung für das Studium der Gesellschaft und der Geschichte, Gesammelte Schriften*, Volume I, chapter 1 (Leipzig/Berlin, 1914) is

extremely interesting as an example of the penetration of Bacon into German historicism. Dilthey sees himself as following in Bacon's footsteps, in that he also faced the task of drawing up an organon. But in Dilthey's case, the Idols are seen in quite different terms. They are basically two, rather than Bacon's four: those who seek knowledge of human society by appeals to transcendental and *a priori* laws on one side, and those who see the development of the social (human) sciences through a mimetic reproduction and reduction of social laws to physical laws, on the other side. Quite different, again, is the attitude of Max Scheler, one of the modern pioneers in the sociology of knowledge. In his famous work, *Die Wissensformen und die Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1926), Scheler makes the stark claim that Bacon understood neither the nature of science nor the functions of technology. The basis of Scheler's remarks is that Bacon understood both in terms of utility and without a sense of the role of human will and power as the end of science and technique alike (pp. 173-74). This view clearly confuses Bacon's theory of the *social* use of science and technology with a latter-day Benthamite theory of science as purely utilitarian and heuristic in design as well as purpose. It is precisely Bacon's distinguishing characteristic that, unlike the rationalist scholastics and humanists, he saw science and technology basically in human power terms. It is this aspect of Bacon's work that led Edgar Zilsel, in "The Sociological Roots of Science" (*The American Journal of Sociology*, Volume XLVII, No. 4, 1942) to make the statement that Bacon "*is the first writer in the history of mankind, to realize fully the basic importance of methodical scientific research for the advancement of civilization*".

Karl Mannheim, founder of the relativist wing of *Wissenssoziologie*, dealt with Bacon only in a cursory way. In "The Concept of Ideology in Historical Perspective", *Ideology and Utopia* (New York, London, 1936), Mannheim justifiably claims that these idols or "phantoms" of Bacon cannot be clearly traced up to the modern conception of ideology. However, Mannheim makes the gap between the two appear functionally wider than is actually the case, by viewing the doctrine of the Idols as an agglomeration of shortcomings in human nature, particular individuals, and social traditions. He did not, like Barth, point out or relate Bacon's Idols and theory of false consciousness to a specifically social frame of reference.



## CORRESPONDENCE

TO THE EDITOR OF *Baconiana*

Sir,

I beg to express my congratulations on the numerous items of interest included in *Baconiana* No. 160. Mr. Lovell's biliteral experiment and Mr. MacDuff's discoveries will make it a memorable issue. As you invite comment on the latter, I venture to submit to you the present short study. My personal experience of both modern cryptography and generalized cryptology authorizes me to a certain extent in presenting it to the readers of *Baconiana*, for very few strictly independent people have dallied in both aspects and have happened to be in contact with specialists in both domains.

May I first recall that the cryptographers and cryptanalysts of the present age, with bright exceptions, seem to have lost in *esprit de finesse* what they have gained in *esprit de géométrie*, owing to their routine work and the highly specialized training given to them. When confronted by a problem in generalized cryptology, some of them are apt to take a superior attitude of scepticism. As I do not believe in unchecked ideas, I carefully tested this a few years ago. I selected a bright Shakespearean trick, hitherto unpublished, conveying no startling revelations but as plain as a pikestaff and startlingly impressive. I showed it to dozens of children, to ordinary people and people of great culture. No one ever thought of denying it. Then I showed it to keen professional cryptographers. Even they were impressed and, when asked for criticism, remained speechless. But a few days later they rallied and expressed their contempt in lofty technical phraseology. Their prejudices had gnawed at their minds to the extent of even *blotting out the memory of what they had seen with their own eyes*. It was outside their scope and training, therefore it could not be.

A parallel training in both conceptions of cryptology from the start—the mechanical one and the “crafty” one—would of course make them invaluable judges of devices such as those revealed in *The City and the Temple*. But it might tempt them to introduce partial indetermination into their current work and that would never do in the practical exploitation of cryptography required by public administrations. In the same way, a study of high political strategy might be useless, if not detrimental, to a good R.Q.M.S.

The above preamble was necessary to reassure the layman of his own capacity to judge. I submit that equable people with good horse sense, a modicum of patience, an average capacity for integrating contextual elements and above all some measure of intellectual integrity are as good judges, if not better judges, of the squaring tricks disclosed by Mr. MacDuff as any so-called “authority”. A man can always judge, more

or less, if he is honest with himself ; but he can never know to what extent an " authority " on moot subjects is impartial. So here are a few elements that may help your readers in forming a *sincere* judgment, if they will kindly refer to your *Illustrated Supplement*.

(1) Taken in isolation, any one of the tricks shown is valueless, for instance p. 24 (b), fig. 1. It is but a shapeless aggregate which required printing in three colours to give it a pale semblance of sense. Even an apparently satisfying construction must be discounted if taken in isolation : sheer luck can achieve the most wonderful feats.

(2) The latitude in spelling is an important element of weakness, if we specially consider (a) the various presentations of the same word in the system : Bacon, Fr. Bacon, Bacono ; and, elsewhere, Tudor, Tudore, I Tudor ; (b) the use of nulls such as H in Qhuis, p. 24 (d) ; (c) the duplication of one of the letters making a null, such as Templee (in green, p. 22) and, in examples not appearing in your supplement, Quueene, Ellisabeth ; (d) the replacement of rare and tell-tale letters by a commoner one, such as Z by S in the same Elisabeth ; (e) the extraneous letter leaving a blank in the red Bacon cross, p. 24 (c) ; (f) the arbitrary mixing of the words Peace-Peal, at the top of p. 24 (d) ; (g) the letters to be used twice in Snip-Snap, reduced to Snip-S(n)a(p), lower down in the same page.

Some of these liberties with spelling may be met in rigid cryptography to dissimulate tell-tale sequences of letters (for instance Q always followed by U in French is an obvious clue to be eliminated). Even nowadays changes in the clear text, even before it is enciphered, are made sometimes to the extent of making it queer-looking, but as these anomalies occur in a comparatively long text they hardly make it incoherent. In squared messages of very few words they become very important and give an impression of happy carelessness or irresponsible fantasy.

(3) Another element of weakness is the unsatisfying shapes taken by alleged messages, some of them being just shapeless sprawls, p. 24 (b), fig. 1, while others have poor designs not saved by duplication (Shakespeare, p. 24 (c), is " almost " a triangle). In p. 24 (b), fig. 5, if the two squares above blue IT and the square under red M were used, the construction would be pleasantly architectural : why not complete the symmetry when one is so near it ? The Quick Home of p. 24 (d) is just a sprinkling across the page.

(4) But now we reach the first element of strength. The connection between the outward text and the secret designs is too good in certain cases to be ascribed to luck. Thus in fig. 6 all the proper names of the text are echoed in the squaring. It is unconceivable that pure chance should have achieved those feats *without one exception*. If you add fig. 5, where the irregular but solid structure echoes four consecutive words of the text, all the elements of weakness listed above are outweighed. Silly and imperfect as you wish, the system then proves the product of human design. And one must not forget the capital fact that, so soon as one

trick is admitted as intentional, the whole of the system must be admitted, even though each individual trick may be accepted or refused according to one's taste.

(5) A still weightier element is iteration. Either of the two yellow Beaumont crosses in fig. 6 if taken by itself might be ascribed to chance : but not the duplication following the same principle of a cross-like pattern of equidistant letters. Here, in addition, no spelling liberty is resorted to. Those two crosses were made to prove, the rest of the page to suggest. The triplication of the green Horne crosses in fig. 3, answering a clear challenge in the outward text (*What is the figure?* said twice ; *Hornes* in the plural) clinches the matter and compels the honest man to accept crosses of the same type, even with other words, such as the two exactly similar Bacon ones, fig. 4 and 6, and such as the many Tudor crosses of similar type found in all Shakespearean squared passages, specially to delimit the borders of the squared passage, or to announce illuminating comments, Mother Queen Elizabeth, for instance.

These elements of strength, connection with the clear text and frequent reiteration, not only outweigh the elements of weakness, but, oddly enough, *turn them into elements of strength*. For challenges to probabilities need not be heaped upon, once enough challenges are given to force conviction. On the contrary, the greatest flexibility is now of the essence on two counts : the necessity of making the working out of the outward text not too difficult and the necessity of dissimulation or self-defence. Now that you have endangered yourself enough to give proof to sensible people, why go to needless dangers ? To convince the not so sensible ? Nothing can convince them. Whatever proofs you give them, they will always ask for more, a good symptom of foolishness. Some people would be convinced if there were two fingerprints of the accused instead of one on the lethal weapon.

First, let us speak of the difficulties of elaboration. They should not be overrated. Think of the proportion of letters used twice, once across and once down, in a modern crossword puzzle (evolved from squaring, by the way, ask the *manes* of Lewis Carroll). That proportion reaches 90 and even 100 per cent. of the letters and about 85 per cent. of all squares, white and black. This leaves far behind the proportion of dual uses in a squared passage. But there one has the additional difficulty of penning a coherent text (though incoherence and fantasy may be resorted to as a signal) and even of achieving what may pass for, and sometimes actually is, poetry. To ease matters, latitude in spelling becomes a necessity both in the outward text and in the enclosed hints, as well as the grouping of significant letters in poor patterns for the less important or the more dangerous messages. It must be said in addition that the squared passages had to include other tricks to provide food for each degree of initiates, from the poorest jokes (Ba, puericia, with a horne added = BA + CON, horne being the name of the abbreviating sign for *con*) to the high-degree devices which required deadly accuracy to counter-balance their apparent arbitrariness.

Secondly, the necessity for dissimulation and self-defence is obvious. The manipulations had to pass unnoticed by the very able cryptographers and intelligence people of the time. Being spied upon incessantly, Bacon had to outwit the professionals. Only great partial indetermination (corrected by iteration, etc.) could achieve this. The situation was the more difficult as Bacon's talents were not left unused by the powers that were. Bacon the private and confraternal cryptologist had to outwit Bacon the official intelligence helper and his colleagues. If some of the latter were initiates, there was the risk of their turning informants, at the cost of perjuring themselves. Squared passages contain strict warnings: Your oaths are passed. Your deep oath. Keep to it, p. 22. In various other passages, the price of perjury, for those who try to undo the organization is announced as death, death, death, impressively repeated. But you can never count on anyone never turning traitor. If any blabber told about the squaring system, it could easily be adduced that there was no point in putting the word horn in fancy crosses, that patterns like figs. 1, 5, 6 of page 24 (*b*, *c*) were wild fantasies of the accuser. In other words, arguments 1, 2, 3 above could be brought to bear with full force by a clever barrister, and it is no wonder that astute people like Mr. Friedman still avail themselves of these dubious weapons in their hopeless rearguard action.

For this really is a fight and we must beware of intellectual illusionism, of the man who will square Marilyn Monroe out of a 16th-century play. We must not forget to demand *repetition* of the same Marilyn Monroe cross. The illusionist will not dare to tell us that he has *not* chosen the word Marilyn *in advance*. He has looked for any pattern saying anything, preferably a long and complicated one to be more impressive, and has hurried to shout his empty triumph. Let us ask him to find four words echoed in the outward text, as in page 24 (*c*), but in this case very strict precautions must be taken, for he could produce what he well knows or suspects to be a genuine squaring, and present it as due to luck. This is a very difficult thrust to parry, for squaring has been extensively practised through the ages. But if we ask him to work exclusively on the *latest news* columns of a collection of *back numbers* of a given *daily* paper (each word of these conditions is essential) and produce repeated marvels and complex echoes, then the challenge will be fair—and we shall see the illusionist sneak away.

When dealing with "authorities", Baconians should never forget Galileo's dire experience. Bodies were believed to fall the faster as they were heavier. In front of his colleagues of the University of Pisa, he dropped two greatly unequal weights from the top of the leaning tower. They hit the ground simultaneously. Any passing layman of good sense would have realized that the speed of falling was unrelated to the weight, but, to their everlasting shame, the professors of Pisa repudiated the evidence of their senses in order to save their faith in authority and "logical" reasoning. I suppose some were honestly blinded by faith



and others consciously dishonest but great believers in obscurantism and moulding of scholarly opinion. Galileo was ostracized.

For many years, the Shakespeare-Bacon-Tudor question has been solved beyond all reasonable doubt, but now I beg to differ with the Editors. When you see how literary and historical arguments can be perverted, how hundreds of books can have been written about Shakespeare by honest and able scholars who never doubted, you realize that cryptology is necessary to give the peace of mind of certainty. Bacon resorted to cryptology for no other reason : only cryptology can transmit inherent reasonable proof powerful enough to subvert carefully contrived adverse appearances.

For this purpose the squaring system was not too bad, though it requires careful study to be assessed. But at the time it had other qualities. It was not too dangerous, since it could be "proved" to be illusive, and yet it looked impressive enough to the brethren of rather low degrees for whom it was manifestly intended. It left room for much better systems for those who were promoted : one must avoid anticlimax. Disciples can rightly expect to be shown more and more wonderful secrecies as they rise. Besides, on its low level, squaring is a good training in relativity and appreciation of context for those who want to leave the rut of primary absolutism, the Caliban stage of the mind. For each little design taken in isolation is of no value, but when a good dozen Tudor crosses and their adjacent messages are taken in conjunction, the whole becomes incontrovertible. If you study a square-inch of a canvas by Manet, you are appalled by the foolish blobs of paint, but when you consider the whole picture, you cannot doubt the intelligent design behind it all.

It is my pious hope, Mr. Editor, that Baconians will fully appreciate the importance of your *City and Temple* article, will explain it patiently to their friends and will keep on the alert against clever but unfair attacks made by those who have taken on the invidious task of spreading false doctrine among the general public.

Yours sincerely,  
P. HENRION.

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*To the Editor.*

Dear Sir,

#### THE CITY AND THE TEMPLE

It may be some months before I am in a position to publish in detail the cryptic discoveries in the First Folio, briefly noticed in the above-mentioned article. To put my case fairly would need more space than I have at my disposal here and I am sure my readers will realise that it would be folly to go off "half cock" as it were. That would be playing into the enemy's hands, and providing them with ammunition into the bargain.

*Baconiana*, while it reaches many friendly eyes, is also perused by quite a few people whose sole aim is to see that the Truth about the works of Shakespeare does *not* come out ; and they are not too scrupulous as to the methods they use. There are also those who automatically decry any new attempts to discover cryptic matter in the Plays, even though they are well aware that the Plays were published in an age which was steeped in cipher. I have no intention of playing into these people's hands by rushing into print with a partial explanation, viz., one that would of necessity be imposed on me by lack of space. However, I am not dodging the issue, and I am prepared to prove this by suggesting that a meeting should be arranged in the not too far distant future, when all the members of the Francis Bacon Society who are genuinely interested could " fire " questions at me, *after* I have given them a *full* demonstration.

I would also like to take this opportunity to challenge any sceptics ; indeed I would welcome them, provided they will come with an " open mind ". Nothing would please me more than this, because I believe that what I have to show them will shake the convictions of the most confirmed anti-cipherist. It will be interesting to see if any of these " disbelievers " dare to take up my challenge.

As to our genuine cipher enthusiasts I assure them I will hold *nothing* back ; I can also promise them that I have made some very startling finds indeed : finds which do not depend on any convenient jugglery, but on a perfectly logical chain of documentary evidence which cannot be refuted ; and my strongest witness is Ben Jonson. So now it's up to you—the only stipulation I make is that only members of the Francis Bacon Society should be present at the meeting, and that it should be under your Chairmanship, Mr. Editor. I will fall in with any reasonable arrangements as to venue and date.

With many thanks for your unfailing help and patience with me, and for your courtesy at all times,

Yours faithfully,  
EWEN MACDUFF.

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[*The Editors believe that the following correspondence between Commander Pares and Mr. H. S. Shield, both of whom have kindly consented to its publication, will be of interest to our readers.*]

Dear Mr. Shield,

Please forgive a somewhat long letter which, *inter alia*, includes extracts from an unpublished article of mine, concerning Bacon's translation of certain Psalms into English verse. . . .

" This poor exercise of my sickness ", as Bacon called it, was undertaken from a sick bed, at the age of 64, as a form of recreation. It is sad that this should be held up as evidence that he could never have been a poet.

Orthodox refutations can sometimes be misleading ; *Venus and Adonis* and Bacon's Psalms—one a young man's inspiration written at white-heat ; the other an old man's experiment in double rhymes, and a translation at that—are separated by 32 eventful years ; they required the exercise of quite different faculties. Bacon was always a poet in the wider sense, and this was a fact which so much impressed Shelley ; perhaps a brief example from the essays will illustrate :

If you listen to David's harp you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols ; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon.

(Of Adversity)

If Francis Bacon was a "concealed poet"—as he once called himself—he was not the only poet to fall under the fascination of David's Harp. Milton's failure with the Psalms is, of course, well known. To improve upon the Authorised Version would be difficult for any poet ; but Bacon's last invocations of the Muse deserve a better fate than the ridicule of those who have never read them. James Spedding found some of these to be very moving, and so I think we should not dismiss them without quoting a few memorable lines. In Psalm 104, there is an image which reminds one of "Great Birnam Wood" in *Macbeth* :

There do the stately ships plough up the floods  
The greater navies look like walking woods.

The Bible line is simply "There go the ships".

In the same Psalm there is an echo from *Romeo and Juliet* :

The moon so constant in inconstancy  
Doth rule the monthly seasons orderly.

In the Bible we have simply "He appointed the Moon for Seasons". Bacon's proliferations in this Psalm are sometimes very fine. For instance he expands the two A.V. lines . . .

Who laid the foundations of the earth, that it  
should not be removed for ever.

to form the more imaginative lines . . .

In the beginning, with a mighty hand,  
He made the earth by counterpoise to stand ;  
Never to move, but to be fixed still ;  
Yet hath no pillars but his sacred will.

In Psalm 90, we find Bacon's well-known "stage" analogy and a strange, almost Shakespearian allusion to "time"—neither of which appear in the Bible version :

O Lord, thou art our home, to whom we fly,  
And so hast always been from age to age :  
Before the hills did intercept the eye.  
Or that the frame was up of earthly stage,  
One God thou wert, and art, and still shall be ;  
The line of Time, it doth not measure Thee.

The authorised version reads as follows :

Lord, thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations  
Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed  
the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou  
art God.

Psalm 126 contains an interesting variant of the Bible version in which there is no reference to the tides or to the river's mouth.

O Lord, turn our captivity ;  
As winds that blow at South  
Do pour the tides with violence  
Back to the river's mouth.

The Authorised Version is beautiful indeed, if less imaginative, and reads as follows :

Turn again our captivity, O Lord.  
As the streams in the South.

These last two lines are peculiarly haunting in any version. In the form given in the Scottish Prayer Book they were the inspiration of a story by John Buchan, Lord Tweedsmuir. However, this is a digression. I hope you will agree from the above extracts that Bacon's few psalms might make rather an interesting study.

Yours sincerely,  
MARTIN PARES.

Dear Commander Pares,

Many thanks for your letter of the 24th, and for the *American Journal*, which I will return after perusal. I see that you say Lord Oxford was educated at Cambridge. True, his father entered him for a Cambridge college, but I find no evidence of his residence. From the age of 12, Oxford was a Ward of Court. Presumably he had private tutors. He received the degree of M.A. at Cambridge, and also at Oxford. Both were honorary, conferred during a Royal Progress.

Regarding your letter on Bacon's Psalms, to produce a new version that will please is almost impossible (even Jerome had to keep the old, familiar incorrect text in the Vulgate. The old is so very familiar). That, I fancy, is the real difficulty ; not merely the fact that Hebrew poetry, dependent on parallelism, is so different from ours which is dependent on flow, rhyme and metre. I hold no brief for Milton, but comparing his version of Psalm 1 with Bacon's, I find that he rightly begins with " Blessed ", the keynote to the whole collection, where Bacon begins with " Who ". In the whole *Golden Treasury*, you shall not find a poem beginning with this relative pronoun ! Perhaps the best a poet can do is to make a poem on the Psalm theme, as Luther did in his magnificent hymn, " Ein feste Burg ", on Psalm 46.



I admit again your quotation re the stage in Psalm 90. It is good. The two quotations (not from the original) from Psalm 104 are poetic, but, considering the dates, do not prove his authorship of *Macbeth* and *Romeo*. Bacon may have been struck by the phrasing. All the same, the Hebrew Moon is not inconstant (as it is to Bacon and Shakespeare) : it is the regulator of the seasons.

In the other two quotations Bacon has certainly allowed himself even more freedom. The Hebrew, Babylonian or Sumerian cosmogony made the Earth firmly built on "foundations". What was under the foundation is obscure, perhaps water. But overhead was the "firmament", a great water tank, from which rain fell at times. In this water there was a raft, boat or "ark", in which the deity took his ease, and Psalm 104, verse 3, hints at this. The word for "ark" in Hebrew is *tebah*, and Tamil has the word *teppam* for the sacred boat on which (at Madura) the goddess is floated once a year. In Sanscrit mythology the primal god is *Narayana*, he who has his ways on the water.

The verse you quote from Psalm 126 is a poetic expansion of the Prayer Book text. Certainly the words about "turning captivity" occur, but it is now explained that they were a stock phrase, meaning "restore the *status quo*, before the captivity". It is clear that the singers had returned already.

" Restore our fallen fortunes, Lord,  
Endow Thy captive bands,  
As rivers spread a verdúr'd sward  
O'er Negeb's parched lands."

I do not offer these lines for the Church Hymnal !

It is still not clear from what version Bacon was "translating". There was a metrical version of the Psalms completed about the year he was born ; I do not know whether he refers to it. There was also the familiar Prayer Book version. So far as I can judge, he need not have gone further back than these. However, I trust that you may prove his poetical gifts from these rather unhelpful materials. When confronted with something from the Psalms, I look up the Hebrew text and commentary, the words in an old dictionary that I trust, and the several versions that I possess. All of which takes time.

I have yet to fathom the cross-word cyphers in Ben Jonson. I admit the prefaces are by him, and may have something to say on that later. This is enough for the present.

To interpose a little ease, I've been looking into the Friedmans' chapter on the "cypher in the epitaph". I regret to find that their dates seem all wrong. The recut of the stone was about 1760, if the mention is in Phillips' book of 1848. The first publication of the Epitaph with this irregular mixture of characters was in 1729. The transcriber also gives us the legend about the great man's papers and MSS being used to heat a baker's oven. So the transcription cannot be derived from Ireland's picture of 1795 ! [*As the Friedmans claim.*—EDITOR.] Had it

not appeared before George Steevens was born, I should have taken it, as one of his many hoaxes, like the tablet of Hardicanute's death by drink, and the description of the "Upas Tree", "from the Dutch". I have to give it further consideration, together with the restored but empty monument, and its pagan Latin inscription.

I am also studying Ben Jonson's varied evidence. As he is almost the only witness we have for any side, I see no use in dismissing him as a man who would say anything!

Yours sincerely,

H. S. SHIELD.

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**S H A K E - S P E A R E S,**  
**S O N N E T S.**

**F**Rom fairest creatures we desire increase,  
That thereby beauties *Rose* might neuer die,  
But as the ripen should by time decease,  
His tender heire might beare his memory:  
But thou contracted to thine owne bright eyes,  
Feed'st thy lights flame with selfe substantiall fewell,  
Making a famine where abundance lies,  
Thy selfe thy foe, to thy sweet selfe too cruell:  
Thou that art now the worlds fresh ornament,  
And only herauld to the gaudy spring,  
Within thine owne bud buriest thy content,  
And tender chorde makst wast in niggarding:  
Pitty the world, or else this glutton be,  
To eate the worlds due, by the graue and thee.

2

**V**Hen fortie Winters shall beseige thy brew,  
And digge deep trenches in thy beauties field,  
Thy youthes proud livery so gaz'd on now,  
Wil be a totter'd weed of final worth held:  
Then being askt, where all thy beautie lies,  
Where all the treasure of thy lusty daies;  
To say within thine owne deepe sunken eyes,  
Were an all-eating shame, and thriftlesse praise.  
How much more praise deseru'd thy beauties vse,  
If thou couldst answere this faire child of mine  
Shall sum my count, and make my old excuse  
Proouing his beautie by succession thine.

B

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